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United States President.

ADDRESSES
OF THE
SUCCESSIVE PRESIDENTS

OF THE
UNITED STATES,
TO
BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS,

AT
THE OPENING OF EACH SESSION,

WITH
THEIR ANSWERS;

FROM THE
COMMENCEMENT OF THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT
TO JANUARY 1, 1805.

TOGETHER WITH
THE INAUGURAL ADDRESSES

DURING THE SAME PERIOD,
AND
THE FAREWELL ADDRESS

OF
GEORGE WASHINGTON.

CITY OF WASHINGTON,

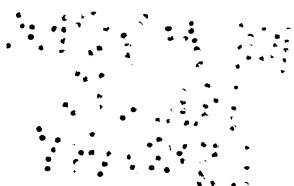
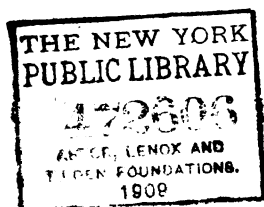
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1805.

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May 1913



FIRST CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION

THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH.

FELLOW-CITIZENS OF THE SENATE, AND
OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

AMONG the vicissitudes incident to life, no event could have filled me with greater anxieties than that of which the notification was transmitted by your order, and received on the 14th day of the present month. On the one hand, I was summoned by my country, whose voice I can never hear but with veneration and love, from a retreat which I had chosen with the fondest predilection, and, in my flattering hopes, with an immutable decision as the asylum of my declining years: A retreat which was rendered every day more necessary as well as more dear to me, by the addition of habit to inclination, and of frequent interruptions in my health to the gradual waste committed on it by time. On the other hand, the magnitude and difficulty of the trust to which the voice of my country called me, being sufficient to awaken in the wisest and most experienced of her citizens, a distrustful scrutiny into his qualifications, could not but overwhelm with despondence one, who, inheriting inferior endowments from nature, and unpractised in the duties of civil administration, ought to be peculiarly conscious of his own deficiencies. In this conflict of emotions, all I dare aver is, that it has been my faithful study to collect my duty from a just appreciation of every circumstance by which it might be affected. All I dare hope is, that if in exe-

cutting this task I have been too much swayed by a grateful remembrance of former instances, or by an affectionate sensibility to this transcendant proof of the confidence of my fellow-citizens ; and have thence too little consulted my incapacity as well as disinclination for the weighty and untried cares before me ; my error will be palliated by the motives which misled me, and its consequences be judged by my country, with some share of the partiality in which they originated.

Such being the impressions under which I have, in obedience to the public summons, repaired to the present station, it would be peculiarly improper to omit in this first official act, my fervent supplications to that Almighty Being, who rules over the universe, who presides in the councils of nations, and whose providential aids can supply every human defect, that his benediction may consecrate to the liberties and happiness of the people of the United States, a government instituted by themselves for these essential purposes, and may enable every instrument employed in its administration, to execute with success, the functions allotted to his charge. In tendering this homage to the great Author of every public and private good, I assure myself that it expresses your sentiments not less than my own ; nor those of my fellow citizens at large, less than either. No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the invisible hand, which conducts the affairs of men, more than the people of the United States. Every step, by which they have advanced to the character of an independent nation, seems to have been distinguished by some token of providential agency. And in the important revolution just accomplished in the system of their united government, the tranquil deliberations and voluntary consent of so many distinct communities, from which the event has resulted, cannot be compared with the means by which most govern-

ments have been established, without some return of pious gratitude along with an humble anticipation of the future blessings which the past seem to pre-sage. These reflections, arising out of the present crisis, have forced themselves too strongly on my mind to be suppressed. You will join with me, I trust, in thinking that there are none under the influence of which, the proceedings of a new and free government can more auspiciously commence.

By the article establishing the executive department, it is made the duty of the President "to recommend to your consideration, such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient." The circumstances under which I now meet you, will acquit me from entering into that subject farther than to refer you to the great Constitutional Charter under which we are assembled ; and which, in defining your powers, designates the objects to which your attention is to be given. It will be more consistent with those circumstances, and far more congenial with the feelings which actuate me, to substitute in place of a recommendation of particular measures, the tribute that is due to the talents, the rectitude, and the patriotism which adorn the characters selected to devise and adopt them. In these honourable qualifications, I behold the surest pledges, that as on one side, no local prejudices or attachments, no separate views nor party animosities, will misdirect the comprehensive and equal eye which ought to watch over this great assemblage of communities and interests : so, on another, that the foundations of our national policy will be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality ; and the pre-eminence of a free government be exemplified by all the attributes which can win the affections of its citizens, and command the respect of the world.

I dwell on this prospect with every satisfaction which an ardent love for my country can inspire ;

since there is no truth more thoroughly established, than that there exists in the economy and course of nature, an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness—between duty and advantage—between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy, and the solid rewards of public prosperity and felicity. Since we ought to be no less persuaded that the propitious smiles of Heaven can never be expected on a nation that disregards the eternal rules of order and right, which Heaven itself has ordained. And since the preservation of the sacred fire of liberty, and the destiny of the republican model of government, are justly considered as *deeply*, perhaps, as *finally* staked, on the experiment entrusted to the hands of the American people.

Besides the ordinary objects submitted to your care, it will remain with your judgment to decide how far an exercise of the occasional power delegated by the fifth article of the Constitution is rendered expedient at the present juncture by the nature of objections which have been urged against the system, or by the degree of inquietude which has given birth to them. Instead of undertaking particular recommendations on this subject, in which I could be guided by no lights derived from official opportunities, I shall again give way to my entire confidence in your discernment and pursuit of the public good: For I assure myself, that whilst you carefully avoid every alteration which might endanger the benefits of an united and effective government, or which ought to await the future lessons of experience; a reverence for the characteristic rights of freemen, and a regard for the public harmony, will sufficiently influence your deliberations on the question, how far the former can be more impregably fortified, or the latter be safely and advantageously promoted.

To the preceding observations I have one to add, which will be most properly addressed to the House

of Representatives. It concerns myself, and will therefore be as brief as possible. When I was first honoured with a call into the service of my country, then on the eve of an arduous struggle for its liberties, the light in which I contemplated my duty, required that I should renounce every pecuniary compensation. From this resolution I have in no instance departed. And being still under the impressions which produced it, I must decline as inapplicable to myself, any share in the personal emoluments, which may be indispensably included in a permanent provision for the executive department; and must accordingly pray that the pecuniary estimates for the station in which I am placed, may, during my continuation in it, be limited to such actual expenditures as the public good may be thought to require.

Having thus imparted to you my sentiments, as they have been awakened by the occasion which brings us together, I shall take my present leave; but not without resorting once more to the benign Parent of the human race, in humble supplication, that since he has been pleased to favour the American people with opportunities for deliberating in perfect tranquility, and dispositions for deciding with unparalleled unanimity on a form of government for the security of their Union, and the advancement of their happiness; so his divine blessing may be equally *conspicuous* in the enlarged views, the temperate consultations, and the wise measures on which the success of this government must depend.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

ANSWER OF THE SENATE.

SIR,

WE, the Senate of the United States, return you our sincere thanks for your excellent speech, delivered to both Houses of Congress, congratulate

you on the complete organization of the federal government, and felicitate ourselves and our fellow-citizens, on your elevation to the office of President, an office, highly important by the powers constitutionally annexed to it, and extremely honourable from the manner in which the appointment is made. The unanimous suffrage of the elective body in your favour, is peculiarly expressive of the gratitude, confidence and affection of the citizens of America, and is the highest testimonial at once of your merit, and of their esteem. We are sensible, Sir, that nothing but the voice of your fellow-citizens, could have called you from a retreat, chosen by the fondest predilection, endeared by habit, and consecrated to the repose of declining years ; we rejoice, and with us, all America, that, in obedience to the call of our common country, you have returned once more to public life. In you all parties confide, in you all interests unite, and we have no doubt, that your past services, great as they have been, will be equalled by your future exertions ; and that your prudence and sagacity as a statesman, will tend to avert the dangers to which we were exposed, to give stability to the present government, and dignity and splendor to that country, which your skill and valour as a soldier, so eminently contributed to raise to independence and empire.

When we contemplate the coincidence of circumstances, and wonderful combination of causes, which gradually prepared the people of this country for independence ; when we contemplate the rise, progress and termination of the late war, which gave them a name among the nations of the earth, we are, with you, unavoidably led to acknowledge and adore the great Arbiter of the universe, by whom empires rise and fall. A review of the many signal instances of divine interposition in favour of this country, claims our most pious gratitude. And permit us,

Sir, to observe, that among the great events which have led to the formation and establishment of a federal government, we esteem your acceptance of the office of President as one of the most propitious and important.

In execution of the trust reposed in us, we shall endeavour to pursue that enlarged and liberal policy, to which your speech so happily directs. We are conscious that the prosperity of each State is inseparably connected with the welfare of all, and that in promoting the latter, we shall effectually advance the former. In full persuasion of this truth, it shall be our invariable aim to divest ourselves of local prejudices and attachments, and to view the great assemblage of communities and interests committed to our charge with an equal eye. We feel, Sir, the force, and acknowledge the justness of the observation, that the foundation of our national policy should be laid in private morality. If individuals be not influenced by moral principles, it is in vain to look for public virtue; it is, therefore, the duty of legislators to enforce, both by precept and example, the utility as well as the necessity of a strict adherence to the rules of distributive justice. We beg you to be assured, that the Senate will at all times cheerfully co-operate in every measure, which may strengthen the Union, conduce to the happiness, or secure and perpetuate the liberties of this great Confederated Republic.

We commend you, Sir, to the protection of Almighty God, earnestly beseeching him long to preserve a life so valuable and dear to the people of the United States; and that your administration may be prosperous to the nation and glorious to yourself.

In SENATE, May 16, 1789.

Signed by order,

JOHN ADAMS, *President of the
Senate of the United States.*

B

THE PRESIDENT'S REPLY.

GENTLEMEN,

I THANK you for your address, in which the most affectionate sentiments are expressed in the most obliging terms. The coincidence of circumstances which led to this auspicious crisis ; the confidence reposed in me by my fellow-citizens, and the assistance I may expect from counsels which will be dictated by an enlarged and liberal policy, seem to presage a more prosperous issue to my administration, than a diffidence of my abilities had taught me to anticipate. I now feel myself inexpressibly happy in a belief, that Heaven, which has done so much for our infant nation, will not withdraw its providential influence before our political felicity shall have been completed ; and in a conviction that the Senate will at all times co-operate in every measure which may tend to promote the welfare of this Confederate Republic.

Thus supported by a firm trust in the great Arbiter of the universe, aided by the collected wisdom of the Union, and imploring the divine benediction on our joint exertions in the service of our country, I readily engage with you in the arduous but pleasing task of attempting to make a nation happy.

G. WASHINGTON.

ANSWER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

SIR,

THE Representatives of the people of the United States present their congratulations on the event by which your fellow-citizens have attested the pre-eminence of your merit. You have long held the first place in their esteem ; you have often received

tokens of their affection ; you now possess the only proof that remained of their gratitude for your services, of their reverence for your wisdom, and of their confidence in your virtues. You enjoy the highest, because the truest honour, of being the First Magistrate, by the unanimous choice of the freest people on the face of the earth.

We well know the anxieties with which you must have obeyed a summons, from the repose reserved for your declining years, into public scenes, of which you had taken your leave forever ; but the obedience was due to the occasion. It is already applauded by the universal joy which welcomes you to your station, and we cannot doubt but that it will be rewarded with all the satisfaction, with which an ardent love for your fellow-citizens must review successful efforts to promote their happiness.

This anticipation is not justified merely by the past experience of your signal services. It is particularly suggested by the pious impressions under which you commence your administration, and the enlightened maxims by which you mean to conduct it. We feel with you the strongest obligations to adore the invisible hand which has led the American people through so many difficulties, to cherish a conscious responsibility for the destiny of republican liberty, and to seek the only sure means of preserving and recommending the precious deposit in a system of legislation, founded on the principles of an honest policy, and directed by the spirit of a diffusive patriotism.

The question arising out of the Fifth Article of the Constitution, will receive all the attention demanded by its importance, and will, we trust, be decided under the influence of all the considerations to which you allude.

In forming the pecuniary provisions for the executive department, we shall not lose sight of a wish

resulting from motives which give it a peculiar claim to our regard. Your resolution in a moment critical to the liberties of your country, to renounce all personal emolument, was among the many presages of your patriotic services, which have been amply fulfilled; and your scrupulous adherence now to the law then imposed on yourself, cannot fail to demonstrate the purity, whilst it increases the lustre of a character, which has so many titles to admiration.

Such are the sentiments which we have thought fit to address to you: They flow from our own hearts, and we verily believe, that among the millions we represent, there is not a virtuous citizen whose heart will disown them.

All that remains is, that we join in your fervent supplication for the blessings of Heaven on our country; and that we add our own for the choicest of those blessings on the most beloved of her citizens.

THE PRESIDENT'S REPLY.

GENTLEMEN,

YOUR very affectionate address produces emotions which I know not how to express. I feel that my past endeavours in the service of my country are far overpaid by its goodness; and I fear much that my future ones may not fulfil your kind anticipation. All that I can promise is, that they will be invariably directed by an honest and an ardent zeal. Of this resource my heart assures me. For all beyond, I rely on the wisdom and patriotism of those with whom I am to co-operate, and a continuance of the blessings of Heaven on our beloved country.

G. WASHINGTON.

FIRST CONGRESS—SECOND SESSION.

*THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH.*

FELLOW-CITIZENS OF THE SENATE, AND
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

I EMBRACE with great satisfaction the opportunity which now presents itself, of congratulating you on the present favourable prospects of our public affairs. The recent accession of the important state of North-Carolina to the Constitution of the United States (of which official information has been received) the rising credit and respectability of our country, the general and increasing good will towards the government of the Union, and the concord, peace and plenty, with which we are blessed, are circumstances auspicious, in an eminent degree, to our national prosperity.

In resuming your consultations for the general good, you cannot but derive encouragement from the reflection, that the measures of the last session have been as satisfactory to your constituents, as the novelty and difficulty of the work allowed you to hope. Still further to realize their expectations, and to secure the blessings which a gracious Providence has placed within our reach, will, in the course of the present important session, call for the cool and deliberate exertion of your patriotism, firmness and wisdom.

Among the many interesting objects which will engage your attention, that of providing for the common defence will merit particular regard. To be prepared for war is one of the most effectual means of preserving peace.

A free people ought not only to be armed, but disciplined; to which end a uniform and well-digested

plan is requisite: And their safety and interest require that they should promote such manufactories, as tend to render them independent on others, for essential, particularly for military supplies.

The proper establishment of the troops which may be deemed indispensable, will be entitled to mature consideration. In the arrangements which may be made respecting it, it will be of importance to conciliate the comfortable support of the officers and soldiers, with a due regard to economy.

There was reason to hope, that the pacific measures adopted with regard to certain hostile tribes of Indians, would have relieved the inhabitants of our southern and western frontiers from their depredations. But you will perceive, by the informations contained in the papers, which I shall direct to be laid before you, (comprehending a communication from the Commonwealth of Virginia) that we ought to be prepared to afford protection to those parts of the Union; and, if necessary, to punish aggressors.

The interest of the United States requires, that our intercourse with other nations shall be facilitated by such provisions as will enable me to fulfil my duty in that respect, in the manner which circumstances may render most conducive to the public good: And to this end, that the compensations to be made to the persons who may be employed, should, according to the nature of their appointments, be defined by law; and a competent fund designated for defraying the expences incident to the conduct of our foreign affairs.

Various considerations also render it expedient, that the terms on which foreigners may be admitted to the rights of citizens, should be speedily ascertained by a uniform rule of naturalization.

Uniformity in the currency, weights and measures of the United States, is an object of great importance, and will, I am persuaded, be duly attended to.

The advancement of agriculture, commerce and manufactures, by all proper means, will not, I trust, need recommendation. But I cannot forbear intimating to you the expediency of giving effectual encouragement as well to the introduction of new and useful inventions from abroad, as to the exertions of skill and genius in producing them at home ; and of facilitating the intercourse between the distant parts of our country, by a due attention to the post office and post roads.

Nor am I less persuaded that you will agree with me in opinion, that there is nothing which can better deserve your patronage, than the promotion of science and literature. Knowledge is in every country the surest basis of public happiness. In one, in which the measures of government receive their impression so immediately from the sense of the community, as in ours, it is proportionably essential. To the security of a free constitution it contributes in various ways. By convincing those who are entrusted with the public administration, that every valuable end of government is best answered by the enlightened confidence of the people : And by teaching the people themselves to know, and to value their own rights ; to discern and provide against invasions of them ; to distinguish between oppression and the necessary exercise of lawful authority ; between burdens proceeding from a disregard to their convenience, and those resulting from the inevitable exigencies of society ; to discriminate the spirit of liberty from that of licentiousness, cherishing the first, avoiding the last, and uniting a speedy, but temperate vigilance against encroachments, with an inviolable respect to the laws.

Whether this desirable object will be the best promoted by affording aids to seminaries of learning already established, by the institution of a national

university, or by any other expedients, will be well worthy of a place in the deliberations of the legislature.

GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF
REPRESENTATIVES,

I SAW with peculiar pleasure, at the close of the last session, the resolution entered into by you, expressive of your opinion, that an adequate provision for the support of the public credit is a matter of high importance to the national honor and prosperity. In this sentiment I entirely concur. And to a perfect confidence in your best endeavours to devise such a provision, as will be truly consistent with the end, I add an equal reliance on the cheerful co-operation of the other branch of the legislature. It would be superfluous to specify inducements to a measure in which the character and permanent interests of the United States are so obviously and so deeply concerned; and which has received so explicit a sanction from your declaration.

GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE, AND
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

I HAVE directed the proper officers to lay before you respectively such papers and estimates as regard affairs particularly recommended to your consideration, and necessary to convey to you that information of the state of the Union, which it is my duty to afford.

The welfare of our country is the great object to which our cares and efforts ought to be directed. And I shall derive great satisfaction from a co-operation with you, in the pleasing though arduous task of ensuring to our fellow-citizens the blessings which they have a right to expect, from a free, efficient, and equal government.

G. WASHINGTON.

ANSWER OF THE SENATE.

SIR,

WE, the Senate of the United States, return you our thanks for your speech delivered to both Houses of Congress. The accession of the State of North-Carolina to the confederation of the United States, gives us much pleasure; and we offer you our congratulations on that event, which at the same time adds strength to our Union, and affords a proof that the more the constitution has been considered, the more the goodness of it has appeared. The information which we have received, that the measures of the last session have been as satisfactory to our constituents as we had reason to expect from the difficulty of the business in which we were engaged, will afford us much consolation and encouragement in resuming our deliberations in the present session for the public good; and every exertion on our part shall be made to realize and secure to our country those blessings which a gracious Providence has placed within her reach. We are persuaded that one of the most essential means of preserving peace, is to be prepared for war, and our attention shall be directed to the objects of common defence, and to the adoption of such plans as shall appear the most likely to prevent our dependence on other countries for essential supplies. In the arrangements to be made respecting the establishment of such troops as may be deemed indispensable, we shall with pleasure provide for the comfortable support of the officers and soldiers, with a due regard to economy. We regret that the pacific measures adopted by government with regard to certain hostile tribes of Indians, have not been attended with the beneficial effects towards the inhabitants of our southern and western frontiers, which we had reason to hope; and we shall cheerfully co-operate in providing the most effectual means

C

for their protection ; and if necessary, for the punishment of aggressors. The uniformity of the currency, and of weights and measures ; the introduction of new and useful inventions from abroad, and the exertion of skill and genius in producing them at home ; the facilitating the communication between the distant parts of our country, by means of the post office and post roads ; a provision for the support of the department of foreign affairs, and a uniform rule of naturalization, by which foreigners may be admitted to the rights of citizens, are objects which shall receive such early attention as their respective importance requires. Literature and science are essential to the preservation of a free constitution ; the measures of government should therefore be calculated to strengthen the confidence that is due to that important truth. Agriculture, commerce and manufactures, forming the basis of the wealth and strength of our confederated republic, must be the frequent subject of our deliberation, and shall be advanced by all proper means in our power. Public credit being an object of great importance, we shall cheerfully co-operate in all proper measures for its support. Proper attention shall be given to such papers and estimates as you may be pleased to lay before us. Our cares and efforts shall be directed to the welfare of our country ; and we have the most perfect dependence upon your co-operating with us, on all occasions, in such measures as will ensure to our fellow-citizens the blessings which they have a right to expect from a free, efficient and equal government.

In SENATE, January 11, 1790.

Signed by order,

JOHN ADAMS, *Vice President of the United States, and President of the Senate.*

THE PRESIDENT'S REPLY.

GENTLEMEN,

I THANK you for your address, and for the assurances, which it contains, of attention to the several matters suggested by me to your consideration.

Relying on the continuance of your exertions for the public good, I anticipate for our country the salutary effects of upright and prudent counsels.

G. WASHINGTON.

ANSWER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

SIR,

THE Representatives of the people of the United States have taken into consideration your speech to both Houses of Congress at the opening of the present session.

We reciprocate your congratulations on the accession of the State of North-Carolina; an event which, while it is a testimony of the increasing good will towards the government of the Union, cannot fail to give additional dignity and strength to the American Republic, already rising in the estimation of the world in national character and respectability.

The information that our measures of the last session have not proved dissatisfactory to our constituents, affords us much encouragement at this juncture, when we are resuming the arduous task of legislating for so extensive an empire.

Nothing can be more gratifying to the Representatives of a free people than the reflection, that their labours are rewarded by the approbation of their fellow-citizens. Under this impression we shall make every exertion to realize their expectations, and to

secure to them those blessings which Providence has placed within their reach. Still prompted by the same desire to promote their interests which then actuated us, we shall, in the present session, diligently and anxiously pursue those measures which shall appear to us conducive to that end.

We concur with you in the sentiment, that agriculture, commerce and manufactures, are entitled to legislative protection ; and that the promotion of science and literature will contribute to the security of a free government ; in the progress of our deliberations, we shall not lose sight of objects so worthy of regard.

The various and weighty matters which you have judged necessary to recommend to our attention, appear to us essential to the tranquility and welfare of the Union, and claim our early and most serious consideration. We shall proceed, without delay, to bestow on them that calm discussion which their importance requires.

We regret that the pacific arrangements pursued with regard to certain hostile tribes of Indians, have not been attended with that success which we had reason to expect from them ; we shall not hesitate to concur in such further measures as may best obviate any ill effects which might be apprehended from the failure of those negotiations.

Your approbation of the vote of this House at the last session, respecting the provision for the public creditors, is very acceptable to us : The proper mode of carrying that resolution into effect, being a subject in which the future character and happiness of these States are deeply involved, will be among the first to deserve our attention.

The prosperity of the United States is the primary object of all our deliberations, and we cherish the reflection, that every measure which we may adopt for its advancement, will not only receive your cheer-

ful concurrence, but will at the same time derive from your co-operation, additional efficacy, in ensuring to our fellow-citizens the blessings of a free, efficient, and equal government.

FREDERICK A. MUHLENBURG,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.



THE PRESIDENT'S REPLY.

GENTLEMEN,

I RECEIVE with pleasure the assurances you give me, that you will diligently and anxiously pursue such measures as shall appear to you conducive to the interests of your constituents; and that an early and serious consideration will be given to the various and weighty matters recommended by me to your attention.

I have full confidence, that your deliberations will continue to be directed by an enlightened and virtuous zeal for the happiness of our country.

G. WASHINGTON.

FIRST CONGRESS—THIRD SESSION.

*THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH.*

FELLOW-CITIZENS OF THE SENATE, AND
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

IN meeting you again, I feel much satisfaction, in being able to repeat my congratulations on the favourable prospects which continue to distinguish our public affairs. The abundant fruits of another year have blessed our country with plenty, and with the means of a flourishing commerce. The progress of public credit is witnessed by a considerable rise of American stock abroad, as well as at home ; and the revenues allotted for this and other national purposes have been productive beyond the calculations by which they were regulated. This latter circumstance is the more pleasing, as it is not only a proof of the fertility of our resources, but as it assures us of a further increase of the national respectability and credit ; and, let me add, as it bears an honorable testimony to the patriotism and integrity of the mercantile and marine part of our citizens. The punctuality of the former in discharging their engagements has been exemplary.

In conforming to the powers vested in me by the acts of the last session, a loan of 3,000,000 of florins, towards which some provisional measures had previously taken place, has been completed in Holland. As well the celerity with which it has been filled, as the nature of the terms (considering the more than ordinary demand for borrowing, created by the situation of Europe) give a reasonable hope, that the further execution of those powers may proceed with advantage and success. The secretary of the treasury has my directions to commu-

nicate such further particulars as may be requisite for more precise information.

Since your last sessions, I have received communications by which it appears, that the district of Kentucky, at present a part of Virginia, has concurred in certain propositions in a law of that State, in consequence of which the district is to become a distinct member of the Union; in case the requisite sanction of Congress be added. For this sanction application is now made. I shall cause the papers on this very important transaction to be laid before you. The liberality and harmony with which it has been conducted, will be found to do great honour to both the parties; and the sentiments of warm attachment to the Union and its present government, expressed by our fellow-citizens of Kentucky, cannot fail to add an affectionate concern for their particular welfare, to the great national impressions under which you will decide on the case submitted to you.

It has been heretofore known to Congress, that frequent incursions have been made on our frontier settlements by certain banditti of Indians, from the north-west side of the Ohio. These, with some of the tribes dwelling on and near the Wabash, have of late been particularly active in their depredations; and, being emboldened by the impunity of their crimes, and aided by such parts of the neighbouring tribes as could be seduced to join in their hostilities, or afford them a retreat for their prisoners and plunder, they have, instead of listening to the humane invitations and overtures made on the part of the United States, renewed their violences with fresh alacrity and greater effect. The lives of a number of valuable citizens have thus been sacrificed, and some of them under circumstances particularly shocking, whilst others have been carried into a deplorable captivity.

These aggravated provocations rendered it essential to the safety of the western settlements, that the aggressors should be made sensible that the government of the Union is not less capable of punishing their crimes, than it is disposed to respect their rights and reward their attachments. As this object could not be effected by defensive measures, it became necessary to put in force the act which empowers THE PRESIDENT to call out the militia for the protection of the frontiers: And I have accordingly authorised an expedition, in which the regular troops in that quarter are combined with such drafts of militia as were deemed sufficient. The event of the measure is yet unknown to me. The Secretary at War is directed to lay before you a statement of the information on which it is founded, as well as an estimate of the expence with which it will be attended.

The disturbed situation of Europe, and particularly the critical posture of the great maritime powers, whilst it ought to make us more thankful for the general peace and security enjoyed by the United States, reminds us at the same time of the circumspection with which it becomes us to preserve these blessings. It requires also, that we should not overlook the tendency of a war, and even of preparations for a war among the nations most concerned in active commerce with this country, to abridge the means, and thereby at least enhance the price of transporting its valuable productions to proper markets. I recommend it to your serious reflections, how far and in what mode it may be expedient to guard against embarrassments from these contingencies, by such encouragements to our own navigation as will render our commerce and agriculture less dependent on foreign bottoms, which may fail us in the very moments most interesting to both of these great objects. Our fisheries, and the transportation of our own produce, offer us abundant means for guarding ourselves against this evil.

Your attention seems to be not less due to that particular branch of our trade which belongs to the Mediterranean. So many circumstances unite in rendering the present state of it distressful to us, that you will not think any deliberations misemployed which may lead to its relief and protection.

The laws you have already passed for the establishment of a judiciary system, have opened the doors of justice to all descriptions of persons. You will consider in your wisdom, whether improvements in that system may yet be made, and particularly whether an uniform process of execution on sentences issuing from the federal courts, be not desirable through all the States.

The patronage of our commerce, of our merchants and seamen, has called for the appointment of consuls in foreign countries. It seems expedient to regulate by law the exercise of that jurisdiction and those functions which are permitted them, either by express convention, or by a friendly indulgence in the places of their residence. The Consular Convention too, with his Most Christian Majesty, has stipulated, in certain cases, the aid of the national authority to his consuls established here. Some legislative provision is requisite to carry these stipulations into full effect.

The establishment of the militia, of a mint, of standards of weights and measures, of the post office and post roads, are subjects which (I presume) you will resume of course, and which are abundantly urged by their own importance.

GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF
REPRESENTATIVES,

THE sufficiency of the revenues you have established for the objects to which they are appropriated, leaves no doubt that the residuary provisions will be commensurate to the other objects for which the

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public faith stands now pledged. Allow me, moreover, to hope, that it will be a favourite policy with you, not merely to secure a payment of the interest of the debt funded, but as far and as fast as the growing resources of the country will permit, to exonerate it of the principal itself. The appropriation you have made of the western lands explains your dispositions on this subject, and I am persuaded the sooner that valuable fund can be made to contribute, along with other means, to the actual reduction of the public debt, the more salutary will the measures be to every public interest, as well as be more satisfactory to our constituents.

GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE,

AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

IN perusing the various and weighty business of the present session, I indulge the fullest persuasion, that your consultations will be equally marked with wisdom, and animated by the love of your country. In whatever belongs to my duty you shall have all the co-operation which an undiminished zeal for its welfare can inspire. It will be happy for us both, and our best reward, if, by a successful administration of our respective trusts, we can make the established government more and more instrumental in promoting the good of our fellow-citizens, and more and more the object of their attachment and confidence.

G. WASHINGTON.

United States, December 8, 1790.

ANSWER OF THE SENATE.

WE receive, Sir, with particular satisfaction, the communications contained in your speech, which confirm to us the progressive state of the public cre-

dit, and afford at the the same time a new proof of the solidity of the foundation on which it rests ; and we cheerfully join in the acknowledgement which is due to the probity and patriotism of the mercantile and maritime part of our fellow-citizens, whose enlightened attachment to the principles of government is not less conspicuous in this, than it has been in other important respects.

In confidence that every constitutional preliminary has been observed, we assure you of our disposition to concur in giving the requisite sanction to the admission of Kentucky, as a distinct member of the Union ; in doing which, we shall anticipate the happy effects to be expected from the sentiments of attachment towards the Union and its present government, which have been expressed by the patriotic inhabitants of that district.

While we regret that the continuance and increase of the hostilities and depredations which have distressed our north-western frontiers, should have rendered offensive measures necessary, we feel an entire confidence in the sufficiency of the motives which have produced them, and in the wisdom of the dispositions which have been concerted, in pursuance of the powers vested in you ; and whatever may have been the event, we shall cheerfully concur in the provisions, which the expedition that has been undertaken may require on the part of the legislature, and in any other which the future peace and safety of our frontier settlements may call for.

The critical situation of the European powers will engage a due portion of our attention ; and we shall be ready to adopt any measures which a prudent circumspection may suggest, for the preservation of the blessings of peace. The navigation and the fisheries of the United States, are objects too interesting not to inspire a disposition to promote them, by all the means which shall appear to us consistent with their natural progress and permanent prosperity.

Impressed with the importance of a free intercourse with the Mediterranean, we shall not think any deliberation misemployed which may conduce to the adoption of proper measures for removing the impediments that obstruct it.

The improvement of the judiciary system, and the other important objects to which you have pointed our attention, will not fail to engage the consideration they respectively merit.

In the course of our deliberations upon every subject, we shall rely upon that co-operation, which an undiminished zeal and incessant anxiety for the public welfare, on your part, so thoroughly ensure; and as it is our anxious desire, so it shall be our constant endeavour, to render the established government more and more instrumental in promoting the good of our fellow-citizens, and more and more the object of their attachment and confidence.

THE PRESIDENT'S REPLY.

GENTLEMEN,

THESE assurances of favourable attention to the subjects I have recommended, and of entire confidence in my views, make the impression on me, which I ought to feel. I thank you for them both, and shall continue to rely much, for the success of all our measures for the public good, on the aid they will receive from the wisdom and integrity of your counsels.

G. WASHINGTON.

ANSWER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

SIR,

THE Representatives of the people of the United States have taken into consideration your address to the two Houses at the opening of the present session of Congress.

We share in the satisfaction inspired by the prospects which continue to be so auspicious to our public affairs. The blessings resulting from the smiles of Heaven on our agriculture, the rise of public credit, with the further advantages promised by it; and the fertility of resources which are found so little burdensome to the community, fully authorise our mutual congratulations on the present occasion. Nor can we learn without an additional gratification, that the energy of the laws for providing adequate revenues have been so honourably seconded by those classes of citizens whose patriotism and probity were more immediately concerned.

The success of the loan opened in Holland, under the disadvantages of the present moment, is the more important, as it not only denotes the confidence already placed in the United States, but as the effect of a judicious application of that aid, will still further illustrate the solidity of the foundation on which the public credit rests.

The preparatory steps taken by the State of Virginia in concert with the district of Kentucky towards the erection of the latter into a distinct member of the Union, exhibit a liberality mutually honourable to the parties. We shall bestow on this important subject the favourable consideration which it merits; and with the national policy which ought to govern our decision, shall not fail to mingle the affectionate sentiments, which are awakened by those expressed in behalf of our fellow-citizens of Kentucky.

Whilst we regret the necessity which has produced offensive hostilities against some of the Indian tribes north-west of the Ohio, we sympathize too much with our western brethren not to behold with approbation the watchfulness and vigour which have been exerted by the executive authority, for their protection; and which, we trust, will make aggres-

sors sensible that it is their interest to merit by a peaceable behaviour the friendship and humanity which the United States are always ready to extend to them.

The encouragement of our own navigation, has, at all times, appeared to us highly important. The point of view under which you recommended it to us is strongly enforced by the actual state of things in Europe. It will be incumbent on us to consider in what mode our commerce and agriculture can be best relieved from an injurious dependence on the navigation of other nations, which the frequency of their wars renders a too precarious resource for conveying the productions of our country to market.

The present state of our trade to the Mediterranean, seems not less to demand, and will accordingly receive, the attention which you have recommended.

Having already concurred in establishing a judiciary system, which opens the door of justice to all, without distinction of persons, it will be our disposition to incorporate every improvement which experience may suggest : and we shall consider in particular, how far the uniformity which in other cases is found convenient in the administration of the general government through all the States, may be introduced into the forms and rules of executing sentences issuing from the federal courts.

The proper regulation of the jurisdiction and functions which may be exercised by consuls of the United States in foreign countries, with the provisions stipulated to those of his Most Christian Majesty established here, are subjects of too much consequence to the public interest and honour, not to partake of our deliberations.

We shall renew our attention to the establishment of the militia and the other subjects unfinished at the last session, and shall proceed in them with all the

dispatch, which the magnitude of all, and the difficulty of some of them, will allow.

Nothing has given us more satisfaction than to find that the revenues heretofore established have proved adequate to the purposes to which they were allotted. In extending the provision to the residuary objects, it will be equally our care to secure sufficiency and punctuality in the payments due from the treasury of the United States. We shall also never lose sight of the policy of diminishing the public debt, as fast as the increase of the public resources will permit; and are particularly sensible of the many considerations which press a resort to the auxiliary resource furnished by the public lands.

In pursuing every branch of the weighty business of the present session, it will be our constant study to direct our deliberations to the public welfare. Whatever our success may be, we can at least answer for the fervent love of our country, which ought to animate our endeavours. In your co-operation, we are sure of a resource, which fortifies our hopes, that the fruits of the established government will justify the confidence which has been placed in it, and recommend it more and more to the affection and attachment of our fellow-citizens.



THE PRESIDENT'S REPLY.

GENTLEMEN,

THE sentiments expressed in your Address, are entitled to my particular acknowledgement. Having no object but the good of our country, this testimony of approbation and confidence, from its immediate representatives, must be amongst my best rewards, as the support of your enlightened patriotism has been among my greatest encouragements.

Being persuaded that you will continue to be actuated by the same auspicious principle, I look forward to the happiest consequences from your deliberations, during the present session.

G. WASHINGTON.

SECOND CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION.

THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH.

FELLOW-CITIZENS OF THE SENATE, AND
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

I MEET you, upon the present occasion, with the feelings, which are naturally inspired by a strong impression of the prosperous situation of our common country, and by a persuasion equally strong, that the labours of the session, which has just commenced, will, under the guidance of a spirit, no less prudent than patriotic, issue in measures conducive to the stability and increase of national prosperity.

Numerous as are the providential blessings which demand our grateful acknowledgments; the abundance with which another year has again rewarded the industry of the husbandman, is too important to escape recollection.

Your own observations, in your respective situations, will have satisfied you of the progressive state of agriculture, manufactures, commerce and navigation: in tracing their causes, you will have remarked, with particular pleasure, the happy effects of that revival of confidence, public as well as private, to which the constitution and laws of the United States have so eminently contributed; and you will have observed, with no less interest, new and decisive proofs of the increasing reputation and credit of the nation. But you, nevertheless, cannot fail to derive satisfaction from the confirmation of these circumstances, which will be disclosed in the seve-

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ral official communications that will be made to you in the course of your deliberations.

The rapid subscriptions to the Bank of the United States, which completed the sum allowed to be subscribed in a single day, is among the striking and pleasing evidences which present themselves, not only of confidence in the government, but of resource in the community.

In the interval of your recess, due attention has been paid to the execution of the different objects which were specially provided for by the laws and resolutions of the last session.

Among the most important of these, is the defence and security of the Western Frontiers. To accomplish it on the most humane principles, was a primary wish.

Accordingly, at the same time that treaties have been provisionally concluded, and other proper means used to attach the wavering, and to confirm in their friendship, the well-disposed tribes of Indians—effectual measures have been adopted to make those of a hostile description sensible, that a pacification was desired upon terms of moderation and justice.

These measures having proved unsuccessful, it became necessary to convince the refractory of the power of the United States to punish their depredations; offensive operations have therefore been directed; to be conducted, however, as consistently as possible with the dictates of humanity. Some of these have been crowned with full success, and others are yet depending. The expeditions which have been completed, were carried on under the authority and at the expence of the United States, by the militia of Kentucky; whose enterprise, intrepidity and good conduct are entitled to peculiar commendation.

Overtures of peace are still continued to the deluded tribes, and considerable numbers of individuals

belonging to them have lately renounced all further opposition, removed from their former situations, and placed themselves under the immediate protection of the United States.

It is sincerely to be desired, that all need of coercion, in future, may cease ; and that an intimate intercourse may succeed, calculated to advance the happiness of the Indians, and to attach them firmly to the United States.

In order to this, it seems necessary—That they should experience the benefits of an impartial dispensation of justice—That the mode of alienating their lands, the main source of discontent and war, should be so defined and regulated, as to obviate imposition, and, as far as may be practicable, controversy, concerning the reality and extent of the alienations which are made—That commerce with them should be promoted under regulations tending to secure an equitable deportment towards them, and that such rational experiments should be made, for imparting to them the blessings of civilization, as may, from time to time, suit their condition—That the Executive of the United States should be enabled to employ the means, to which the Indians have been long accustomed, for uniting their immediate interests with the preservation of peace—And that efficacious provision should be made for inflicting adequate penalties upon all those, who, by violating their rights, shall infringe the treaties, and endanger the peace of the Union.

A system corresponding with the mild principles of religion and philanthropy towards an unenlightened race of men, whose happiness materially depends on the conduct of the United States, would be as honourable to the national character, as conformable to the dictates of sound policy.

The powers specially vested in me by the act, laying certain duties on distilled spirits, which re-

spect the subdivisions of the districts into surveys, the appointment of officers, and the assignment of compensations, have likewise been carried into effect. In a matter, in which both materials and experience were wanting to guide the calculation, it will be readily conceived that there must have been difficulty in such an adjustment of the rates of compensation as would conciliate a reasonable competency, with a proper regard to the limits prescribed by the law. It is hoped that the circumspection which has been used will be found in the result to have secured the last of the two objects; but it is probable, that with a view to the first, in some instances a revision of the provision will be found advisable.

The impressions with which this law has been received by the community, have been, upon the whole, such as were to be expected among enlightened and well-disposed citizens, from the propriety and necessity of the measure. The novelty, however, of the tax, in a considerable part of the United States, and a misconception of some of its provisions, have given occasion in particular places to some degree of discontent. But it is satisfactory to know, that this disposition yields to proper explanations and more just apprehensions of the true nature of the law. And I entertain a full confidence, that it will, in all, give way to motives which arise out of a just sense of duty, and a virtuous regard to the public welfare.

If there are any circumstances in the law, which, consistently with its main design, may be so varied as to remove any well intentioned objections that may happen to exist, it will consist with a wise moderation to make the proper variations. It is desirable, on all occasions, to unite with a steady and firm adherence to constitutional and necessary acts of government, the fullest evidence of a disposition, as

far as may be practicable, to consult the wishes of every part of the community, and to lay the foundations of the public administration in the affections of the people.

Pursuant to the authority contained in the several acts on that subject, a district of ten miles square, for the permanent seat of the government of the United States, has been fixed, and announced by proclamation; which district will comprehend lands on both sides of the river Potowmac, and the towns of Alexandria and George-town. A city has also been laid out agreeably to a plan which will be placed before Congress; and as there is a prospect favoured by the rate of sales which have already taken place, of ample funds for carrying on the necessary buildings, there is every expectation of their due progress.

The completion of the census of the inhabitants, for which provision was made by a law, has been duly notified, (excepting in one instance, in which the return has been informal; and another, in which it has been omitted or miscarried) and the returns of the officers who were charged with this duty, which will be laid before you, will give you the pleasing assurance, that the present population of the United States borders on four millions of persons.

It is proper also to inform you, that a further loan of two millions and an half of florins has been completed in Holland; the terms of which are similar to those of the one last announced, except as to a small reduction of charges. Another, on like terms, for six millions of florins, had been set on foot, under circumstances that assured immediate completion.

GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE,

Two treaties which have been provisionally concluded with the Cherokees, and Six Nations of Indians, will be laid before you for your consideration and ratification.

GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF
REPRESENTATIVES,

IN entering upon the discharge of your Legislative trust, you must anticipate with pleasure, that many of the difficulties, necessarily incident to the first arrangement of a new government, for an extensive country, have been happily surmounted by the zealous and judicious exertions of your predecessors in co-operation with the other branch of the Legislature. The important objects which remain to be accomplished, will, I am persuaded, be conducted upon principles equally comprehensive, and equally well calculated for the advancement of the general weal.

The time limited for receiving subscriptions to the loans proposed by the act making provision for the debt of the United States, having expired, statements from the proper department will, as soon as possible, apprise you of the exact result. Enough, however, is already known to afford an assurance, that the views of that act have been substantially fulfilled. The subscription in the domestic debt of the United States, has embraced by far the greatest proportion of that debt; affording at the same time, proof of the general satisfaction of the public creditors with the system which has been proposed to their acceptance, and of the spirit of accommodation to the convenience of the government with which they are actuated. The subscriptions in the debts of the respective states, as far as the provisions of the law have permitted, may be said to be yet more general. The part of the debt of the United States which remains unsubscribed, will naturally engage your further deliberations.

It is particularly pleasing to me to be able to announce to you, that the revenues which have been established, promise to be adequate to their objects, and may be permitted, if no unforeseen exigency occurs, to supercede, for the present, the necessity of any new burthens upon our constituents.

An object which will claim your early attention, is a provision for the current service of the ensuing year, together with such ascertained demands upon the treasury as require to be immediately discharged, and such casualties as may have arisen in the execution of the public business, for which no specific appropriation may have yet been made; of all which, a proper estimate will be laid before you.

GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE, AND
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

I SHALL content myself with a general reference to former communications for several objects, upon which the urgency of other affairs has hitherto postponed any definitive resolution. Their importance will recal them to your attention; and I trust that the progress already made in the most arduous arrangements of the government will afford you leisure to resume them with advantage.

There are, however, some of them of which I cannot forbear a more particular mention; these are, the Militia—The Post-Office and Post-Roads—The Mint—Weights and Measures—a provision for the sale of the Vacant Lands of the United States.

The first is certainly an object of primary importance, whether viewed in reference to the national security, to the satisfaction of the community, or the preservation of order. In connection with this, the establishment of competent magazines and arsenals, and the fortification of such places as are peculiarly important and vulnerable, naturally present themselves to consideration. The safety of the United States, under divine protection, ought to rest on the basis of systematic and solid arrangement; exposed as little as possible to the hazards of fortuitous circumstances.

The importance of the post-office and post roads, on a plan sufficiently liberal and comprehensive, as

they respect the expedition, safety and facility of communication, is increased by the instrumentality in diffusing a knowledge of the laws and proceedings of the government; which, while it contributes to the security of the people, serves also to guard them against the effects of misrepresentation and misconception. The establishment of additional cross posts, especially to some of the important points in the western and northern parts of the Union, cannot fail to be of material utility.

The disorders in the existing currency, and especially the scarcity of small change, a scarcity so peculiarly distressing to the poorer classes, strongly recommend the carrying into immediate effect the resolution already entered into concerning the establishment of a Mint. Measures have been taken pursuant to that resolution for procuring some of the most necessary articles, together with the requisite apparatus.

An uniformity in the weights and measures of the country is among the important objects submitted to you by the Constitution, and if it can be derived from a standard at once invariable and universal, must be no less honourable to the public councils than conducive to the public convenience.

A provision for the sale of the vacant lands of the United States, is particularly urged, among other reasons, by the important considerations—that they are pledged as a fund for reimbursing the public debt;—that if timely and judiciously applied, they may save the necessity of burthening our citizens with new taxes for the extinguishment of the principal; and that being free to discharge the principal, but in a limited proportion, no opportunity ought to be lost for availing the public of its rights.

G. WASHINGTON.

United States, Oct. 25, 1791.

ANSWER OF THE SENATE.

SIR,

THE Senate of the United States have received with much satisfaction the assurance of public prosperity contained in your speech to both Houses. The multiplied blessings of Providence have not escaped our notice, or failed to excite our gratitude.

The benefits which flow from the restoration of public and private confidence, are conspicuous and important ; and the pleasure with which we contemplate them is heightened by your assurance of those farther communications, which shall confirm their existence, and indicate their source.

While we rejoice in the success of those military operations which have been directed against the hostile Indians, we lament with you the necessity that has produced them ; and we participate the hope that the present prospect of a general peace, on terms of moderation and justice, may be brought into complete and permanent effect ; and that the measures of government, for the security of our frontiers, may equally embrace the general interests of humanity. Our solicitude to obtain, will ensure our zealous attention to an object so warmly espoused by the dictates of benevolence, and so highly interesting to the honour and welfare of the nation.

The several subjects which you have particularly recommended, and those which remain of former sessions, will engage our early consideration. We are encouraged to prosecute them with alacrity and steadiness, by the belief, that they will interest no passion but that for the general welfare, by the assurance of concert, and by a view of those arduous and important arrangements which have been already accomplished.

We observe, Sir, the constancy and activity of your zeal for the public good. The example will

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animate our efforts to promote the happiness of our country.

Signed by order and in behalf of the Senate,
JOHN ADAMS, *Vice-President of the United States, and President of the Senate.*

THE PRESIDENT'S REPLY.

GENTLEMEN,

THIS manifestation of your zeal for the honour and the happiness of our country, derives its full value from the share which your deliberations have already had in promoting both.

I thank you for the favourable sentiments with which you view the part I have borne in the arduous trust committed to the government of the United States; and desire you to be assured that all my zeal will continue to second those further efforts for the public good, which are ensured by the spirit in which you are entering on the present session.

G. WASHINGTON.

ANSWER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

SIR,

IN receiving your address at the opening of the present session, the House of Representatives have taken an ample share in the feelings inspired by the actual prosperity and flattering prospects of our country; and whilst, with becoming gratitude to Heaven, we ascribe this happiness to the true source from which it flows, we behold with animating pleasure, the degree in which the constitution and laws of the United States have been instrumental in dispensing it.

It yields us particular satisfaction to learn the success with which the different important measures of the government have proceeded ; as well those specially provided for at the last session, as those of preceding date.

The safety of our Western frontiers, in which the lives and repose of so many of our fellow-citizens are involved, being peculiarly interesting, your communications on that subject are proportionally grateful to us.

The gallantry and good conduct of the militia, whose services were called for, is an honourable confirmation of the efficacy of that precious resource of a free state ; and we anxiously wish, that the consequences of their successful enterprizes, and of the other proceedings to which you have referred, may leave the United States free to pursue the most benevolent policy towards the unhappy and deluded race of people in our neighbourhood.

The amount of the population of the United States, determined by the returns of the census, is a source of the most pleasing reflections, whether it be viewed in relation to our national safety and respectability, or as a proof of that felicity in the situation of our country, which favours so unexampled a rapidity in its growth : nor ought any to be insensible to the additional motives suggested by this important fact, to perpetuate the free government established, with a wise administration of it, to a portion of the earth which promises such an increase of the number which is to enjoy these blessings within the limits of the United States.

We shall proceed, with all the respect due to your patriotic recommendations, and with a deep sense of the trust committed to us by our fellow-citizens, to take into consideration the various and important matters falling within the present session. And in discussing and deciding each, we shall feel every dis-

position, whilst we are pursuing the public welfare, which must be the supreme object with all our constituents, to accommodate, as far as possible, the means of attaining it to the sentiments and wishes of every part of them.



THE PRESIDENT'S REPLY.

GENTLEMEN,

THE pleasure I derive from an assurance of your attention to the objects I have recommended to you, is doubled by your concurrence in the testimony I have borne to the prosperous condition of our public affairs. Relying on the sanctions of your enlightened judgment, and on your patriotic aid, I shall be the more encouraged in all my endeavours for the public weal ; and particularly in those which may be required on my part for executing the salutary measures I anticipate from your present deliberations.

G. WASHINGTON,

SECOND CONGRESS—SECOND SESSION.

*THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH.*

FELLOW-CITIZENS OF THE SENATE, AND
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

IT is some abatement of the satisfaction, with which I meet you on the present occasion, that in felicitating you on a continuance of the national prosperity, generally, I am not able to add to it information that the Indian hostilities, which have, for some time past distressed our north-western frontier, have terminated.

You will, I am persuaded, learn, with no less concern than I communicate it, that reiterated endeavours towards effecting a pacification have hitherto issued only in new and outrageous proofs of persevering hostility on the part of the tribes with whom we are in contest. An earnest desire to procure tranquility to the frontiers—to stop the further effusion of blood—to arrest the progress of expence—to forward the prevalent wish of the nation, for peace, has led to strenuous efforts, through various channels, to accomplish these desirable purposes; in making which efforts, I consulted less my own anticipations of the event, or the scruples which some considerations were calculated to inspire, than the wish to find the object attainable; or if not attainable, to ascertain, unequivocally, that such is the case.

A detail of the measures which have been pursued, and of their consequences, which will be laid before you, while it will confirm to you the want of success, thus far, will, I trust, evince that means, as proper and as efficacious as could have been devised, have been employed. The issue of some of them, indeed, is still depending; but a favourable

one, though not to be despaired of, is not promised by any thing that has yet happened.

In the course of the attempts which have been made, some valuable citizens have fallen victims to their zeal for the public service. A sanction commonly respected, even among savages, has been found, in this instance, insufficient to protect from massacre, the emissaries of peace; it will, I presume, be duly considered, whether the occasion does not call for an exercise of liberality towards the families of the deceased.

It must add to your concern, to be informed that besides the continuation of hostile appearances, among the tribes north of the Ohio, some threatening symptoms have of late been revived among some of those south of it.

A part of the Cherokees, known by the name of Chickamagas, inhabiting five villages on the Tennessee river, have long been in the practice of committing depredations on the neighbouring settlements.

It was hoped that the treaty of *Holston*, made with the Cherokee nation, in July, 1791, would have prevented a repetition of such depredations. But the event has not answered this hope. The Chickamagas, aided by some banditti of another tribe in their vicinity, have recently perpetrated wanton and unprovoked hostilities upon the citizens of the United States, in that quarter. The information which has been received on this subject will be laid before you. Hitherto defensive precautions only have been strictly enjoined and observed.

It is not understood that any breach of treaty, or aggression whatsoever, on the part of the United States, or their citizens, is even alleged, as a pretext for the spirit of hostility in this quarter.

I have reason to believe, that every practicable exertion has been made, (pursuant to the provision by law for that purpose) to be prepared for the alter-

native of a prosecution of the war, in the event of a failure of pacific overtures. A large proportion of the troops, authorised to be raised, have been recruited, though the number is still incomplete; and pains have been taken to discipline, and put them in condition for the particular kind of service to be performed. A delay of operations (besides being dictated by the measures which were pursuing towards a pacific termination of the war) has been in itself deemed preferable to immature efforts. A statement, from the proper department, with regard to the number of troops raised, and some other points which have been suggested, will afford more precise information, as a guide to the legislative consultations; and among other things, will enable Congress to judge whether some additional stimulus to the recruiting service may not be advisable.

In looking forward to the future expence of the operations, which may be found inevitable, I derive consolation from the information I receive, that the product of the revenues for the present year, is likely to supercede the necessity of additional burthens on the community, for the service of the ensuing year. This, however, will be better ascertained in the course of the session; and it is proper to add, that the information alluded to proceeds from the supposition of no material extension of the spirit of hostilities.

I cannot dismiss the subject of Indian affairs, without again recommending to your consideration the expediency of more adequate provision for giving energy to the laws throughout our interior frontier; and for restraining the commission of outrages upon the Indians; without which all pacific plans must prove nugatory. To enable, by competent rewards, the employment of qualified and trusty persons to reside among them, as agents, would also contribute to the preservation of peace and good neighbourhood.

If in addition to these expedients, an eligible plan could be devised for promoting civilization among the friendly tribes, and for carrying on trade with them upon a scale equal to their wants, and under regulations calculated to protect them from imposition and extortion, its influence in cementing their interests with ours could not but be considerable.

The prosperous state of our revenue has been intimated. This would be still more the case, were it not for the impediments which in some places continue to embarrass the collection of the duties on spirits, distilled within the United States. These impediments have lessened, and are lessening in local extent ; and, as applied to the community at large, the contentment with the law appears to be progressive.

But symptoms of increased opposition having lately manifested themselves in certain quarters, I judged special interposition on my part, proper and advisable ; and under this impression have issued a proclamation, warning against all unlawful combinations and proceedings, having for their object, or tending to obstruct the operation of the law in question, and announcing that all lawful ways and means would be strictly put in execution, for bringing to justice the infractors thereof, and securing obedience thereto.

Measures have also been taken for the prosecution of offenders. And Congress may be assured, that nothing within constitutional and legal limits, which may depend on me, shall be wanting to assert and maintain the just authority of the laws. In fulfilling this trust, I shall count entirely upon the full co-operation of the other departments of the government, and upon the zealous support of all good citizens.

I cannot forbear to bring again into the view of the legislature, the subject of a revision of the judiciary system. A representation from the judges of the

supreme court, which will be laid before you, points out some of the inconveniences that are experienced. In the course of the execution of the laws, considerations rise out of the structure of that system, which in some cases tend to relax their efficacy. As connected with this subject, provisions to facilitate the taking of bail upon processes out of the courts of the United States, and supplementary definition of offences against the constitution and laws of the Union, and of the punishment for such offences, will, it is presumed, be found worthy of particular attention.

Observations on the value of peace with other nations are unnecessary. It would be wise, however, by timely provisions, to guard against those acts of our own citizens, which might tend to disturb it, and to put ourselves in a condition to give that satisfaction to foreign nations, which we may sometimes have occasion to require from them. I particularly recommend to your consideration the means of preventing those aggressions by our citizens on the territory of other nations, and other infractions of the law of nations, which furnishes just subject of complaint, and might endanger our peace with them. And, in general, the maintenance of a friendly intercourse with foreign powers will be presented to your attention by the expiration of the law for that purpose, which takes place, if not renewed, at the close of the present session.

In execution of the authority given by the legislature, measures have been taken for engaging some artists from abroad to aid in the establishment of our mint : others have been employed at home. Provision has been made of the requisite buildings, and these are now putting into proper condition for the purposes of the establishment. There has also been a small beginning in the coinage of half dimes ; the

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want of small coins in attention to them.

The regulation of foreign coins, in correspondence with the principles of our national coinage, as being essential to their due operation, and to order in our money concerns, will, I doubt not, be resumed and completed.

It is represented that some provisions in the law, which establishes the post-office, operate, in experiment, against the transmission of newspapers, to distant parts of the country. Should this, upon due inquiry, be found to be the fact, a full conviction of the importance of facilitating the circulation of political intelligence and information, will, I doubt not, lead to the application of a remedy.

substitution for the state of *Kentucky*. The legislature will inform me. The satisfaction which arises from the happiness of the part of the nation to which it relates, and conducive to the general order.

It is proper likewise to inform you, that since my last communication on the subject, and in further execution of the acts, severally making provision for the public debt, and for the reduction thereof, three new loans have been effected, each for three millions of florins; one at Antwerp, at the annual interest of four and one half per cent. with an allowance of four per cent. in lieu of all charges; and the other two at Amsterdam, at the annual interest of four per cent. with an allowance of five and one half per cent. in one case, and of five per cent. in the other, in lieu of all charges. The rates of these loans, and the circumstances under which they have been made, are confirmations of the high state of our credit abroad.

Among the objects to which these funds have been directed to be applied, the payment of the debts due

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Among the objects to which these funds have been directed to be applied, the payment of the debts due

to certain foreign officers, according to the provisions made during the last session, has been embraced.

GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF
REPRESENTATIVES,

I ENTERTAIN a strong hope, that the state of the national finances is now sufficiently matured to enable you to enter upon a systematic and efficient arrangement for the regular redemption and discharge of the public debt, according to the right which has been reserved to the government. No measure can be more desirable, whether viewed with an eye to its intrinsic importance, or to the general sentiment and wish of the nation.

Provision is likewise requisite for the reimbursement of the loan which has been made from the Bank of the United States, pursuant to the eleventh section of the act by which it is incorporated. In fulfilling the public stipulations in this particular, it is expected a valuable saving will be made.

Appropriations for the current service of the ensuing year, and for such extraordinaries as may require provision, will demand, and I doubt not will engage your early attention.

GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE, AND
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

I CONTENT myself with recalling your attention, generally, to such objects, not particularized in my present, as have been suggested in my former communications to you.

Various temporary laws will expire during the present session. Among these, that which regulates trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes, will merit particular notice.

The results of your common deliberations hitherto, will, I trust, be productive of solid and durable advantages to our constituents; such as, by conci-

liating more and more their ultimate suffrage, will tend to strengthen and confirm their attachment to that constitution of government, upon which, under Divine Providence, materially depend their union, their safety, and their happiness.

Still further to promote and secure these inestimable ends, there is nothing which can have a more powerful tendency, than the careful cultivation of harmony, combined with a due regard to stability in the public councils.

G. WASHINGTON.

United States, November 6, 1792.

ANSWER OF THE SENATE.

ACCEPT, Sir, our grateful acknowledgments for your address at the opening of the present session. We participate with you in the satisfaction arising from the continuance of the general prosperity of the nation ; but it is not without the most sincere concern that we are informed, that the reiterated efforts which have been made to establish peace with the hostile Indians, have hitherto failed to accomplish that desired effect. Hoping that the measures still depending may prove more successful than those which have preceded them, we shall nevertheless concur in every necessary preparation for the alternative ; and, should the Indians on either side of the Ohio persist in their hostilities, fidelity to the Union, as well as affection for our fellow-citizens on the frontiers, will ensure our decided co-operation in every measure, which shall be deemed requisite for their protection and safety.

At the same time that we avow the obligation of the government to afford its protection to every part of the Union, we cannot refrain from expressing our

regret, that even a small portion of our fellow-citizens in any quarter of it, should have combined to oppose the operation of the law for the collection of duties on spirits distilled within the United States ; a law repeatedly sanctioned by the authority of the nation, and at this juncture materially connected with the safety and protection of those who oppose it. Should the means already adopted, fail in securing obedience to this law, such further measures as may be thought necessary to carry the same into complete operation, cannot fail to receive the approbation of the Legislature, and the support of every patriotic citizen.

It yields us particular pleasure to learn, that the productiveness of the revenue of the present year, will probably supersede the necessity of any additional tax for the service of the next.

The organization of the government of the state of *Kentucky*, being an event peculiarly interesting to a part of our fellow-citizens, and conducive to the general order, affords us peculiar satisfaction.

We are happy to learn, that the high state of our credit abroad has been evinced by the terms on which the new loans have been negotiated.

In the course of the session, we shall proceed to take into consideration the several objects which you have been pleased to recommend to our attention ; and, keeping in view the importance of union and stability in the public councils, we shall labour to render our decisions conducive to the safety and happiness of our country.

We repeat with pleasure our assurances of confidence in your administrations, and our ardent wish that your unabated zeal for the public good may be rewarded by the durable prosperity of the nation, and every ingredient of personal happiness.

JOHN LANGDON, *President, pro tempore, of the Senate.*

THE PRESIDENT'S REPLY.

I DERIVE much pleasure, gentlemen, from your very satisfactory address. The renewed assurances of your confidence in my administration, and the expression of your wish for my personal happiness, claim and receive my particular acknowledgments. In my future endeavours for the public welfare, to which my duty may call me, I shall not cease to count upon the firm, enlightened and patriotic support of the Senate.

G. WASHINGTON.

ANSWER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

SIR,

THE House of Representatives, who always feel satisfaction in meeting you, are much concerned that the occasion for mutual felicitation, afforded by circumstances favourable to the national prosperity, should be abated by a continuance of the hostile spirit of many of the Indian tribes; and particularly, that the reiterated efforts for effecting a general pacification with them, should have issued in new proofs of their persevering enmity, and the barbarous sacrifice of citizens who, as the messengers of peace, were distinguishing themselves by their zeal for the public service. In our deliberations on this important department of our affairs, we shall be disposed to pursue every measure that may be dictated by the sincerest desire on one hand, of cultivating peace, and manifesting, by every practicable regulation, our benevolent regard for the welfare of those misguided people; and by the duty we feel, on the other, to provide effectually for the safety and protection of our fellow-citizens.

While with regret we learn, that symptoms of opposition to the law imposing duties on spirits distilled within the United States, have manifested themselves, we reflect, with consolation, that they are confined to a small portion of our fellow-citizens. It is not more essential to the preservation of true liberty, that a government should be always ready to listen to the representations of its constituents, and to accommodate its measures to the sentiments and wishes of every part of them, as far as will consist with the good of the whole, than it is, that the just authority of the laws should be stedfastly maintained.

Under this impression, every department of the government, and all good citizens, must approve the measures you have taken, and the purpose you have formed, to execute this part of your trust with firmness and energy ; and be assured, Sir, of every constitutional aid and co-operation which may become requisite on our part. And we hope, that while the progress of contentment under the law in question, is as obvious as it is rational, no particular part of the community may be permitted to withdraw from the general burthens of the country, by a conduct as irreconcilable to national justice, as it is inconsistent with public decency.

The productive state of the public revenue, and the confirmation of the credit of the United States abroad, evinced by the loans at *Antwerp* and *Amsterdam*, are communications the more gratifying, as they enforce the obligation to enter on systematic and effectual arrangements for discharging the public debt, as far as the conditions of it will permit. And we take pleasure in the opportunity to assure you of our entire concurrence in the opinion, that no measure can be more desirable, whether viewed with an eye to the urgent wish of the community, or the intrinsic importance of promoting so happy a change in our situation.

The adoption of a constitution for the State of *Kentucky*, is an event in which we join in all the satisfaction you have expressed. It may be considered as particularly interesting, since, besides the immediate benefits resulting from it, it is another auspicious demonstration of the facility and success with which an enlightened people are capable of providing, by free and deliberate plans of government, for their own safety and happiness.

The operation of the law establishing the Post-Office, as it relates to the transmission of newspapers, will merit our particular inquiry and attention; the circulation of political intelligence, through these vehicles, being justly reckoned among the surest means of preventing the degeneracy of a free government, as well as of recommending every salutary public measure, to the confidence and co-operation of all virtuous citizens.

The several other matters which you have communicated and recommended, will in their order receive the attention due to them; and our discussion will, in all cases, we trust, be guided by a proper respect for harmony and stability in the public councils, and a desire to conciliate more and more, the attachment of our constituents to the constitution, by measures accommodated to the true ends for which it was established.



THE PRESIDENT'S REPLY.

GENTLEMEN,

IT gives me pleasure to express to you the satisfaction which your address affords me. I feel, as I ought, the approbation you manifest of the measures I have taken, and the purpose I have formed, to maintain, pursuant to the trust reposed in me by

the constitution, the respect which is due to the laws, and the assurance which you, at the same time, give me of every constitutional aid and co-operation, that may become requisite on your part.

This is a new proof of that enlightened solicitude for the establishment and confirmation of public order, which, embracing a zealous regard for the principles of true liberty, has guided the deliberations of the House of Representatives; a perseverance, which can alone secure, under the divine blessing, the real and permanent felicity of our common country.

G. WASHINGTON.

H

THIRD CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION.

THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH.

FELLOW-CITIZENS OF THE SENATE, AND
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

SINCE the commencement of the term, for which I have been again called into office, no fit occasion has arisen for expressing to my fellow-citizens at large, the deep and respectful sense, which I feel, of the renewed testimony of public approbation. While on the one hand, it awakened my gratitude for all those instances of affectionate partiality, with which I have been honoured by my country ; on the other, it could not prevent an earnest wish for that retirement, from which no private consideration should ever have torn me. But influenced by the belief, that my conduct would be estimated according to its real motives ; and that the people, and the authorities derived from them, would support exertions, having nothing personal for their object, I have obeyed the suffrage which commanded me to resume the executive power ; and I humbly implore that Being, on whose will the fate of nations depends, to crown with success our mutual endeavours for the general happiness.

As soon as the war in Europe had embraced those powers with whom the United States have the most extensive relation ; there was reason to apprehend that our intercourse with them might be interrupted, and our disposition for peace, drawn into question, by the suspicions, too often entertained by belligerent nations. It seemed therefore to be my duty, to admonish our citizens of the consequences of a contraband trade, and of hostile acts to any of the parties ; and to obtain, by a declara-

tion of the existing legal state of things, an easier admission of our rights to the immunities, belonging to our situation. Under these impressions, the proclamation, which will be laid before you, was issued.

In this posture of affairs, both new and delicate, I resolved to adopt general rules which should conform to the treaties, and assert the privileges of the United States. These were reduced into a system, which will be communicated to you. Although I have not thought myself at liberty to forbid the sale of the prizes, permitted by our treaty of commerce with France to be brought into our ports; I have not refused to cause them to be restored, when they were taken within the protection of our territory; or by vessels commissioned or equipped in a warlike form within the limits of the United States.

It rests with the wisdom of Congress to correct, improve or enforce this plan of procedure, and it will probably be found expedient to extend the legal code, and the jurisdiction of the Courts of the United States, to many cases which, though dependent on principles already recognized, demand some further provisions.

When individuals shall, within the United States, array themselves in hostility against any of the powers at war; or enter upon military expeditions, or enterprizes within the jurisdiction of the United States; or usurp and exercise judicial authority within the United States; or where the penalties on violations of the law of nations may have been indistinctly marked, or are inadequate; these offences cannot receive too early and close an attention, and require prompt and decisive remedies.

Whatsoever those remedies may be, they will be well administered by the judiciary, who possess a long established course of investigation, effectual process, and officers in the habit of executing it.

In like manner, as several of the courts have *doubted*, under particular circumstances, their power to liberate the vessels of a nation at peace, and even of a citizen of the United States, although seized under a false colour of being hostile property; and have *denied* their power to liberate certain captures within the protection of our territory; it would seem proper to regulate their jurisdiction in these points. But if the Executive is to be the resort in either of the two last mentioned cases, it is hoped, that he will be authorized by law, to have facts ascertained by the courts, when, for his own information, he shall request it.

I cannot recommend to your notice measures for the fulfilment of *our* duties to the rest of the world, without again pressing upon you the necessity of placing ourselves in a condition of complete defence, and of exacting from *them* the fulfilment of *their* duties towards *us*. The United States ought not to indulge a persuasion, that, contrary to the order of human events, they will forever keep at a distance those painful appeals to arms with which the history of every other nation abounds. There is a rank due to the United States among nations, which will be withheld, if not absolutely lost, by the reputation of weakness. If we desire to avoid insult, we must be able to repel it; if we desire to secure peace, one of the most powerful instruments of our rising prosperity, it must be known, that we are at all times ready for war.

The documents which will be presented to you, will shew the amount, and kinds of arms and military stores now in our magazines and arsenals; and yet an addition even to these supplies cannot with prudence be neglected; as it would leave nothing to the uncertainty of procuring a warlike apparatus in the moment of public danger. Nor can such arrangements, with such objects, be exposed to the

censure or jealousy of the warmest friends of republican government. They are incapable of abuse in the hands of the militia, who ought to possess a pride in being the depository of the force of the Republic, and may be trained to a degree of energy, equal to every military exigency of the United States. But it is an enquiry, which cannot be too solemnly pursued, whether the act, "more effectually to provide for the national defence by establishing an uniform militia throughout the United States," has organized them so as to produce their full effect; whether your own experience in the several States has not detected some imperfections in the scheme; and whether a material feature in an improvement of it, ought not to be to afford an opportunity for the study of those branches of the military art, which can scarcely ever be attained by practice alone?

The connection of the United States with Europe, has become extremely interesting. The occurrences which relate to it, and have passed under the knowledge of the Executive, will be exhibited to Congress in a subsequent communication.

When we contemplate the war on our frontiers, it may be truly affirmed that every reasonable effort has been made to adjust the causes of dissention with the Indians, north of the Ohio. The instructions given to the commissioners evince a moderation and equity, proceeding from a sincere love of peace, and a liberality having no restriction but the essential interests and dignity of the United States. The attempt, however, of an amicable negotiation having been frustrated, the troops have marched to act offensively. Although the proposed treaty did not arrest the progress of military preparation, it is doubtful, how far the advance of the season, before good faith justified active movements, may retard them, during the remainder of the year. From the papers and intelligence which relate to this important sub-

ject, you will determine, whether the deficiency in the number of troops, granted by law, shall be compensated by succours of militia; or additional encouragements shall be proposed to recruits. An anxiety has been also demonstrated by the Executive, for peace with the Creeks and the Cherokees. The former have been relieved with corn and with clothing, and offensive measures against them prohibited, during the recess of Congress. To satisfy the complaints of the latter, prosecutions have been instituted for the violences committed upon them. But the papers, which will be delivered to you, disclose the critical footing on which we stand in regard to both those tribes, and it is with Congress to pronounce what shall be done.

After they shall have provided for the present emergency, it will merit their most serious labours to render tranquility with the savages permanent, by creating ties of interest. Next to a rigorous execution of justice on the violators of peace, the establishment of commerce with the Indian nations in behalf of the United States, is most likely to conciliate their attachment. But it ought to be conducted without fraud, without extortion, with constant and plentiful supplies, with a ready market for the commodities of the Indians, and a stated price for what they give in payment, and receive in exchange. Individuals will not pursue such a traffic, unless they be allured by the hope of profit; but it will be enough for the United States to be reimbursed only. Should this recommendation accord with the opinion of Congress, they will recollect, that it cannot be accomplished by any means yet in the hands of the Executive.

GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF
REPRESENTATIVES,

THE commissioners, charged with the settlement of accounts between the United and individual States,

concluded their important functions within the time limited by law ; and the balances, struck in their report, which will be laid before Congress, have been placed on the books of the treasury.

On the first day of June last, an instalment of one million of florins became payable on the loans of the United States in Holland. This was adjusted by a prolongation of the period of reimbursement, in the nature of a new loan, at interest at five per cent. for the term of ten years ; and the expences of this operation were a commission of three per cent.

The first instalment of the loan of two millions of dollars from the bank of the United States, has been paid, as was directed by law. For the second, it is necessary that provision should be made.

No pecuniary consideration is more urgent, than the regular redemption and discharge of the public debt ; on none can delay be more injurious, or an economy of time more valuable.

The productiveness of the public revenues hitherto, has continued to equal the anticipations which were formed of it ; but it is not expected to prove commensurate with all the objects which have been suggested. Some auxiliary provisions will, therefore, it is presumed, be requisite ; and it is hoped that these may be made, consistently with a due regard to the convenience of our citizens, who cannot but be sensible of the true wisdom of encountering a small present addition to their contribution, to obviate a future accumulation of burdens.

But here I cannot forbear to recommend a repeal of the tax on the transportation of public prints. There is no resource so firm for the government of the United States, as the affections of the people, guided by an enlightened policy ; and to this primary good, nothing can produce more, than a faithful representation of public proceedings, diffused without restraint, throughout the United States.

An estimate of the appropriations necessary for the current service of the ensuing year, and a statement of a purchase of arms and military stores, made during the recess, will be presented to Congress.

*Gentlemen of the Senate, and
House of Representatives;*

THE several subjects, to which I have now referred, open a wide range to your deliberations, and involve some of the choicest interests of our common country. Permit me to bring to your remembrance the magnitude of your task. Without an unprejudiced coolness, the welfare of the government may be hazarded; without harmony, as far as consists with freedom of sentiment, its dignity may be lost. But as the legislative proceedings of the United States will never, I trust, be reproached for the want of temper or of candour; so shall not the public happiness languish, from the want of my strenuous and warmest co-operations.

G. WASHINGTON.

United States, December 3, 1793.



ANSWER OF THE SENATE.

ACCEPT, Sir, the thanks of the Senate, for your speech delivered to both Houses of Congress at the opening of the session. Your re-election to the Chief Magistracy of the United States, gives us sincere pleasure. We consider it as an event every way propitious to the happiness of our country; and your compliance with the call, as a fresh instance of the patriotism which has so repeatedly led you to sacrifice private inclination to the public good. In the unanimity which a second time marks this important national act, we trace with particular satisfaction, be-

sides the distinguished tribute paid to the virtues and abilities which it recognizes, another proof of that just discernment, and constancy of sentiments and views, which have hitherto characterized the citizens of the United States.

As the European powers with whom the United States have the most extensive relations, were involved in war, in which we had taken no part—it seemed necessary that the disposition of the nation for peace, should be promulgated to the world, as well for the purpose of admonishing our citizens of the consequences of a contraband trade, and of acts hostile to any of the belligerent parties, as to obtain, by a declaration of the existing legal state of things, an easier admission of our right to the immunities of our situation; we therefore contemplate with pleasure, the proclamation by you issued, and give it our hearty approbation. We deem it a measure well timed, and wise; manifesting a watchful solicitude for the welfare of the nation, and calculated to promote it.

The several important matters presented to our consideration, will, in the course of the session, engage all the attention to which they are respectively entitled; and as the public happiness will be the sole guide of our deliberations, we are perfectly assured of receiving your strenuous and most zealous co-operation.

JOHN ADAMS, *Vice-President of the United States, and President of the Senate.*



THE PRESIDENT'S REPLY.

GENTLEMEN,

THE pleasure expressed by the Senate, on my re-election to the station which I fill, commands my

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sincere and warmest acknowledgments. If this be an event, which promises the smallest addition to the happiness of our country, as it is my duty, so shall it be my study, to realize the expectation.

The decided approbation which the proclamation now receives from your House, by completing the proof, that this measure is considered as manifesting a vigilant attention to the welfare of the United States, brings with it a peculiar gratification to my mind.

The other important subjects which have been communicated to you, will, I am confident, receive a due discussion, and the result will, I trust, prove fortunate to the United States.

G. WASHINGTON.



ANSWER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

SIR,

THE Representatives of the people of the United States, in meeting you for the first time since you have been again called by an unanimous suffrage to your present station, find an occasion which they embrace with no less sincerity than promptitude, for expressing to you their congratulations on so distinguished a testimony of public approbation, and their entire confidence in the purity and patriotism of the motives which have produced this obedience to the voice of your country. It is to virtues which have commanded long and universal reverence, and services from which have flowed great and lasting benefits, that the tribute of praise may be paid without the reproach of flattery; and it is from the same sources that the fairest anticipations may be derived in favour of the public happiness.

The United States having taken no part in the war which has embraced in Europe the powers with whom they have the most extensive relations, the maintenance of peace was justly to be regarded as one of the most important duties of the magistrate charged with the faithful execution of the laws. We accordingly witness with approbation and pleasure the vigilance with which you have guarded against an interruption of that blessing, by your Proclamation, admonishing our citizens of the consequences of illicit or hostile acts towards the belligerent parties ; and promoting, by a declaration of the existing legal state of things, an easier admission of our right to the immunities belonging to our situation.

The connection of the United States with Europe has evidently become extremely interesting. The communications which remain to be exhibited to us, will, no doubt, assist in giving us a fuller view of the subject, and in guiding our deliberations to such results as may comport with the rights and true interests of our country.

We learn with deep regret that the measures dictated by a love of peace for obtaining an amicable termination of the afflicting war on our frontier should have been frustrated, and that a resort to offensive measures should have again become necessary. As the latter, however, must be rendered more satisfactory in proportion to the solicitude for peace manifested by the former, it is to be hoped they will be pursued under the better auspices on that account, and be finally crowned with more happy success.

In relation to the particular tribes of Indians, against whom offensive measures have been prohibited, as well as on all the other important subjects which you have presented to our view, we shall bestow the attention which they claim. We cannot, however, refrain at this time, from particularly expressing our concurrence in your anxiety for the re-

gular discharge of the public debts, as fast as circumstances and events will permit ; and in the policy of removing any impediments that may be found in the way of a faithful representation of public proceedings throughout the United States, being persuaded with you, that on no subject more than the former, can delay be more injurious, or an economy of time more valuable, and that with respect to the latter, no resource is so firm for the government of the United States, as the affections of the people, guided by an enlightened policy.

Throughout our deliberations we shall endeavour to cherish every sentiment which may contribute to render them conducive to the dignity, as well as to the welfare of the United States ; and we join with you in imploring that Being, on whose will the fate of nations depends, to crown with success our mutual endeavours.

THE PRESIDENT'S REPLY.

GENTLEMEN,

I SHALL not affect to conceal the cordial satisfaction which I derive from the address of the House of Representatives, Whatsoever those services may be which you have sanctioned by your favour, it is a sufficient reward, that they have been accepted, as they were meant. For the fulfilment of your anticipations of the future, I can give no other assurance, than that the motives, which you approve, shall continue unchanged.

It is truly gratifying to me, to learn, that the Proclamation has been considered as a seasonable guard against the interruption of the public peace. Nor can I doubt, that the subjects which I have recommended to your attention, as depending upon legis-

lative provisions, will receive a discussion suited to their importance. With every reason, then, it may be expected, that your deliberations, under the Divine blessing, will be matured to the honour and happiness of the United States.

G. WASHINGTON.

THIRD CONGRESS—SECOND SESSION.

*THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH.*

FELLOW-CITIZENS OF THE SENATE, AND OF
THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

WHEN we call to mind the gracious indulgence of Heaven, by which the American People became a nation ; when we survey the general prosperity of our country, and look forward to the riches, power and happiness, to which it seems destined ; with the deepest regret do I announce to you, that during your recess, some of the citizens of the United States have been found capable of an insurrection. It is due, however, to the character of our government, and to its stability, which cannot be shaken by the enemies of order, freely to unfold the course of this event.

During the session of the year 1790, it was expedient to exercise the legislative power granted by the constitution of the United States, " to lay and collect excises." In a majority of the States, scarcely an objection was heard to this mode of taxation. In some, indeed, alarms were at first conceived, until they were banished by reason and patriotism. In the four western counties of Pennsylvania, a prejudice, fostered and embittered by the artifice of men who laboured for an ascendancy over the will of others, by the guidance of their passions, produced symptoms of riot and violence. It is well known, that Congress did not hesitate to examine the complaints which were presented, and to relieve them, as far as justice dictated, or general convenience would permit. But the impression which this moderation made on the discontented did not correspond

with what it deserved ; the arts of delusion were no longer continued to the efforts of designing individuals.

The very forbearance to press prosecutions, was misinterpreted into a fear of urging the execution of the laws ; and associations of men began to denounce threats against the officers employed. From a belief that, by a more formal concert, their operation might be defeated, certain self-created societies assumed the tone of condemnation. Hence, while the greater part of Pennsylvania itself were conforming themselves to the acts of excise, a few counties were resolved to frustrate them. It was now perceived, that every expectation from the tenderness which had hitherto been pursued, was unavailing, and that further delay could only create an opinion of impotency, or irresolution in the government. Legal process, was, therefore, delivered to the Marshal, against the rioters and delinquent distillers.

No sooner was he understood to be engaged in his duty, than the vengeance of armed men was aimed at his person, and the personal property of the Inspector of the Revenue. They fired upon the Marshal, arrested him, and detained him for some time as a prisoner. He was obliged, by the jeopardy of his life, to renounce the service of other process, on the west side of the Allegany mountain ; and a deputation was afterwards sent to him to demand a surrender of that which he *had* served. A numerous body repeatedly attacked the house of the Inspector, seized his papers of office, and finally destroyed, by fire, his buildings, and whatsoever they contained. Both of these officers, from a just regard to their safety, fled to the seat of government ; it being avowed, that the motives of such outrages were, to compel the resignation of the Inspector ; to withstand by the force of arms, the authority of the United States,

and thereby to extort a repeal of the laws of excise, and an alteration in the conduct of government.

Upon the testimony of these facts, an associate justice of the supreme court of the United States notified to me, that "in the counties of Washington and Allegany, in Pennsylvania, laws of the United States were opposed, and the execution thereof obstructed, by combinations, too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by the powers vested in the Marshal of that district." On this call, momentous in the extreme, I sought and weighed what might best subdue the crisis. On the one hand, the judiciary was pronounced to be stript of its capacity to enforce the laws: Crimes, which reached the very existence of social order, were perpetrated without control; the friends of government were insulted, abused, and overawed into silence, or an apparent acquiescence; and to yield to the treasonable fury of so small a portion of the United States, would be to violate the fundamental principle of our constitution, which enjoins, that the will of the majority shall prevail. On the other, to array citizen against citizen—to publish the dishonour of such excesses—to encounter the expence, and other embarrassments of so distant an expedition, were steps too delicate, too closely interwoven with many affecting considerations, to be lightly adopted. I postponed, therefore, the summoning the militia immediately into the field; but I required them to be held in readiness, that if my anxious endeavours to reclaim the deluded, and to convince the malignant of their danger, should be fruitless, military force might be prepared to act, before the season should be too far advanced.

My proclamation of the 7th of August last, was accordingly issued, and accompanied by the appointment of commissioners, who were charged to repair to the scene of insurrection. They were authorised to confer with any bodies of men, or individuals.

They were instructed to be candid and explicit, in stating the sensations which had been excited in the Executive, and his earnest wish to avoid a resort to coercion; to represent, however, that without submission, coercion *must* be the resort; but to invite them, at the same time, to return to the demeanor of faithful citizens, by such accommodations as lay within the sphere of the executive power—pardon, too, was tendered to them by the government of the United States, and that of Pennsylvania; upon no other condition, than a satisfactory assurance of obedience to the laws.

Although the report of the Commissioners marks their firmness and abilities, and must unite all virtuous men, by shewing that the means of conciliation have been exhausted; all of those who had committed, or abetted the tumults, did not subscribe the mild form, which was proposed as the atonement; and the indications of a peaceable temper were neither sufficiently general, nor conclusive to recommend or warrant a further suspension of the march of the militia.

Thus the painful alternative could not be discarded. I ordered the militia to march, after once more admonishing the insurgents, in my proclamation of the 25th of September last.

It was a task, too difficult to ascertain, with precision, the lowest degree of force competent to the quelling of the insurrection. From a respect, indeed, to economy and the case of my fellow-citizens, belonging to the militia, it would have gratified me to accomplish such an estimate. My very great reluctance to ascribe too much importance to the opposition, had its extent been accurately seen, would have been a decided inducement to the smallest efficient numbers. In this uncertainty, I therefore, put into motion fifteen thousand men, as being an army, which, according to all human calculation, would be prompt,

and adequate, in every view, and might perhaps, by rendering resistance desperate, prevent the effusion of blood. Quotas had been assigned to the States of New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia; the Governor of Pennsylvania having declared on this occasion, an opinion which justified a requisition to the other States.

As Commander in Chief of the militia, when called into the actual service of the United States, I have visited the places of general rendezvous, to obtain more exact information, and to direct a plan for ulterior movements. Had there been room for a persuasion that the laws were secure from obstruction; that the civil magistrate was able to bring to justice such of the most culpable as have not embraced the proffered terms of amnesty, and may be deemed fit objects of example; that the friends of peace and good government were not in need of that aid and countenance, which they ought always to receive, and I trust ever will receive, against the vicious and turbulent, I should have caught with avidity the opportunity of restoring the militia to their families and home. But succeeding intelligence has tended to manifest the necessity of what has been done; it being now confessed, by those who were not inclined to exaggerate the ill conduct of the insurgents, that their malevolence was not pointed merely to a particular law, but that a spirit inimical to all order, has actuated many of the offenders. If the state of things had afforded reason for the continuance of my presence with the army, it would not have been withheld; but every appearance assuring such an issue as will redound to the reputation and strength of the United States, I have judged it most proper to resume my duties at the seat of government, leaving the chief command with the Governor of Virginia.

Still, however, as it is probable, that in a commotion like the present, whatsoever may be the pre-

tence, the purposes of mischief and revenge may not be laid aside ; the stationing of a small force for a certain period, in the four western counties of Pennsylvania, will be indispensable, whether we contemplate the situation of those who are connected with the execution of the laws, or of others, who may have exposed themselves by an honourable attachment to them.

Thirty days from the commencement of this session, being the legal limitation of the employment of the militia, Congress cannot be too early occupied with this subject.

Among the discussions which may arise from this aspect of our affairs, and from the documents which will be submitted to Congress, it will not escape their observation, that not only the Inspector of the Revenue, but other officers of the United States in Pennsylvania, have, from their fidelity in the discharge of their functions, sustained material injuries to their property. The obligation and policy of indemnifying them, are strong and obvious. It may also merit attention, whether policy will not enlarge this provision to the retribution of our citizens, who, though not under the ties of office, may have suffered damage by their generous exertions for upholding the constitution and the laws. The amount, even if all the injured were included, would not be great ; and on future emergencies, the government would be amply repaid by the influence of an example, that he who incurs a loss in its defence, shall find a recompence in its liberality.

While there is cause to lament that occurrences of this nature should have disgraced the name, or interrupted the tranquility of any part of our community, or should have diverted to a new application, any portion of the public resources, there are not wanting real and substantial consolations for the misfortune. It has demonstrated that our prosperity

rests on solid foundations ; by furnishing an additional proof, that my fellow-citizens understand the true principles of government and liberty ; that they feel their inseparable union ; that, notwithstanding all the devices that have been made use of to sway them from their interest and duty, they are now as ready to maintain the authority of the laws against licentious invasions, as they were to defend their rights against usurpation. It has been a spectacle, displaying to the highest advantage, the value of republican government, to behold the most and least wealthy of our citizens standing in the same ranks as private soldiers ; pre-eminently distinguished by being the army of the constitution ; undeterred by a march of three hundred miles, over rugged mountains, by the approach of an inclement season, or by any other discouragement. Nor ought I to omit to acknowledge the efficacious and patriotic co-operation which I have experienced from the Chief Magistrates of the States to which my requisitions have been addressed.

To every description, indeed, of citizens, let praise be given ; but let them persevere in their affectionate vigilance over that precious depository of American happiness, the Constitution of the United States. Let them cherish it too, for the sake of those, who, from every clime, are daily seeking a dwelling in our land. And when, in the calm moments of reflection, they shall have retraced the origin and progress of the insurrection, let them determine, whether it has not been fomented by combinations of men, who, careless of consequences, and disregarding the unerring truth, that those who rouse, cannot always appease a civil convulsion, have disseminated, from an ignorance or perversion of facts, suspicions, jealousies, and accusations of the whole government.

Having thus fulfilled the engagement which I took, when I entered into office, “ to the best of my abili-

ty to preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States," on you, gentlemen, and the people by whom you are deputed, I rely for support.

In the arrangements to which the possibility of a similar contingency will naturally draw your attention, it ought not to be forgotten, that the militia laws have exhibited such striking defects, as could not have been supplied but by the zeal of our citizens. Besides the extraordinary expense and waste, which are not the least of the defects, every appeal to those laws is attended with a doubt of its success.

The devising and establishing of a well-regulated militia, would be a genuine source of legislative honour, and a perfect title to public gratitude. I therefore entertain a hope, that the present session will not pass, without carrying to its full energy, the power of organizing, arming and disciplining the militia; and thus providing, in the language of the constitution, for calling them forth to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrection, and repel invasion.

As auxiliary to the state of our defence to which Congress cannot too frequently recur, they will not omit to inquire whether the fortifications which have been already licensed by law, be commensurate with our exigencies.

The intelligence from the army under the command of General Wayne, is a happy presage to our military operations against the hostile Indians north of the Ohio. From the advices which have been forwarded, the advance he has made must have damped the ardour of the savages, and weakened their obstinacy in waging war against the United States; and yet, even at this late hour, when our power to punish them cannot be questioned, we shall not be unwilling to cement a lasting peace, upon terms of candour, equity, and good neighbourhood.

Towards none of the Indian tribes have overtures of friendship been spared. The Creeks in particular

are covered from encroachment by the interposition of the General Government, and that of Georgia. From a desire also to remove the discontents of the Six Nations, a settlement meditated at Presque Isle, on Lake Erie, has been suspended; and an agent is now endeavouring to rectify any misconceptions into which they may have fallen. But I cannot refrain from again pressing upon your deliberations, the plan which I recommended at the last session, for the improvement of harmony within our limits, by the fixing and conducting of trading houses, upon the principles then expressed.

GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF
REPRESENTATIVES,

THE time which has elapsed since the commencement of our fiscal measures, has developed our pecuniary resources, so as to open a way for a definitive plan for the redemption of our public debt. It is believed, that the result is such as to encourage Congress to consummate this work without delay. Nothing can more promote the permanent welfare of the nation, and nothing would be more grateful to our constituents. Indeed, whatsoever is unfinished of our system of public credit, cannot be benefited by procrastination; and, as far as may be practicable, we ought to place that credit on grounds which cannot be disturbed, and to prevent that progressive accumulation of debt, which must ultimately endanger all governments.

An estimate of the necessary appropriations, including the expenditures into which we have been driven by the insurrection, will be submitted to Congress.

GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE, AND OF THE
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

THE Mint of the United States has entered upon the coinage of the precious metals, and considerable

sums of defective coins and bullion have been lodged with the director by individuals. There is a pleasing prospect, that the institution will, at no remote day, realize the expectation which was originally formed of its utility.

In subsequent communications, certain circumstances of our intercourse with foreign nations will be transmitted to Congress; however, it may not be unseasonable to announce, that my policy in our foreign transactions, has been, to cultivate peace with all the world—to observe treaties with pure and absolute faith—to check every deviation from the line of impartiality—to explain what may have been misapprehended, and correct what may have been injurious to any nation; and having thus acquired the right, to lose no time in acquiring the ability, to insist upon justice being done to ourselves.

Let us unite, therefore, in imploring the Supreme Ruler of nations to spread his holy protection over these United States—to turn the machinations of the wicked to the confirming of our constitution—to enable us at all times to root out internal sedition, and put invasion to flight—to perpetuate to our country that prosperity which his goodness has already conferred, and to verify the anticipations of this government being a safeguard to human rights.

G. WASHINGTON.

United States, November 19, 1794.

ANSWER OF THE SENATE.

SIR,

WE receive, with pleasure, your speech to the two Houses of Congress. In it we perceive renewed proofs of that vigilant and paternal concern for the prosperity, honor and happiness of our country, which has uniformly distinguished your past administration.

Our anxiety, arising from the licentious and open resistance to the laws, in the western counties of Pennsylvania, has been increased by the proceedings of certain self-created societies, relative to the laws and administration of the government; proceedings, in our apprehension, founded in political error, calculated, if not intended, to disorganize our government, and which, by inspiring delusive hopes of support, have been influential in misleading our fellow-citizens in the scene of insurrection.

In a situation so delicate and important, the lenient and persuasive measures, which you adopted, merit and receive our affectionate approbation. These failing to procure their proper effects, and coercion having become inevitable; we have derived the highest satisfaction from the enlightened patriotism, and animating zeal, with which the citizens of New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, have rallied around the standard of government, in opposition to anarchy and insurrection.

Our warm and cordial acknowledgments are due to you, Sir, for the wisdom and decision, with which you arrayed the militia, to execute the public will; and to them, for the disinterestedness and alacrity with which they obeyed your summons.

The example is precious to the theory of our government, and confers the brightest honor upon the patriots who have given it.

We shall readily concur in such farther provisions for the security of internal peace, and a due obedience to the laws, as the occasion manifestly requires.

The effectual organization of the militia, and a prudent attention to the fortifications of our ports and harbors, are subjects of great national importance, and, together with the other measures you have been pleased to recommend, will receive our deliberate consideration.

The success of the troops, under the command of general Wayne, cannot fail to produce essential ad-

vantages. The pleasure, with which we acknowledge the merits of that gallant general and army, is enhanced by the hope, that their victories will lay the foundation for a speedy and durable peace with the Indian tribes.

At a period, so momentous in the affairs of nations, the temperate, just and firm policy, that you have pursued in respect to foreign powers, has been eminently calculated to promote the great and essential interests of our country, and has created the fairest title to the public gratitude and thanks.

JOHN ADAMS, *Vice-President of the United States, and President of the Senate.*

November 22, 1794.

THE PRESIDENT'S REPLY.

GENTLEMEN,

AMONG the occasions, which have been afforded for expressing my sense of the zealous and steadfast co-operation of the Senate, in the maintenance of government, none has yet occurred, more forcibly demanding my unqualified acknowledgments, than the present.

Next to the consciousness of upright intentions, it is the highest pleasure to be approved by the enlightened Representatives of a free nation. With the satisfaction, therefore, which arises from an unalterable attachment to public order, do I learn, that the Senate discountenances those proceedings, which would arrogate the direction of our affairs without any degree of authority derived from the people.

It has been more than once the lot of our government, to be thrown into new and delicate situations; and of these, the insurrection has not been the least important. Having been compelled, at length, to

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lay aside my repugnance to resort to arms, I derive much happiness, from being confirmed by your judgment, in the necessity of decisive measures, and from the support of my fellow-citizens of the militia, who were the patriotic instruments of that necessity.

With such demonstrations of affection for our constitution—with an adequate organization of the militia—with the establishment of necessary fortifications—with a continuance of those judicious and spirited exertions, which brought victory to our western army—with a due attention to public credit, and an unsullied honor towards all nations, we may meet, under every assurance of success, our enemies from within and from without.

G. WASHINGTON.

ANSWER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

SIR,

THE House of Representatives, calling to mind the blessings of the people of the United States, and especially the happiness of living under constitutions and laws, which rest on their authority alone, could not learn, with other emotions than those you have expressed, that any part of our fellow-citizens should have shewn themselves capable of an insurrection; and we learn, with the greatest concern, that any misrepresentations whatever, of the government and its proceedings, either by individuals, or combinations of men, should have been made, and so far credited, as to foment the flagrant outrage which has been committed on the laws.

We feel with you the deepest regret at so painful an occurrence in the annals of our country. As men, regardful of the tender interests of humanity, we look with grief at scenes which have stained our

land with civil blood. As lovers of public order, we lament that it has suffered so flagrant a violation. As zealous friends of a republican government, we deplore every occasion which, in the hands of its enemies, may be turned into calumny against it.

This aspect of the crisis, however, is happily not the only one which it presents. There is another which yields all the consolations which you have drawn from it. It has demonstrated to the candid world, as well as to the American people themselves, that the great body of them, every where, are equally attached to the luminous and vital principle of our constitution, which enjoins, that the will of the majority shall prevail; that they understand the indissoluble union between true liberty and regular government; that they feel their duties no less than they are watchful over their rights; that they will be as ready at all times to crush licentiousness, as they have been to defeat usurpation. In a word, that they are capable of carrying into execution that noble plan of self-government which they have chosen as the guarantee of their own happiness, and the asylum for that of all from every clime, who may wish to unite their destiny with ours.

These are the just inferences flowing from the promptitude with which the summons to the standard of the laws has been obeyed; and from the sentiments which have been witnessed in every description of citizens, in every quarter of the Union. The spectacle, therefore, when viewed in its true light, may well be affirmed to display in equal lustre the virtues of the American character, and the value of republican government. All must particularly acknowledge and applaud the patriotism of that portion of citizens who have freely sacrificed every thing less dear than the love of their country, to the meritorious task of defending its happiness.

In the part which you yourself have borne through this delicate and distressing period, we trace the ad-

ditional proofs it has afforded of your solicitude for the public good. Your laudable and successful endeavours to render lenity in executing the laws conducive to their real energy, and to convert tumult into order, without the effusion of blood, form a particular title to the confidence and praise of your constituents. In all that may be found necessary on our part to complete this benevolent purpose, and to secure the ministers and friends of the laws against the remains of danger, our due co-operation will be afforded.

The other subjects which you have recommended, or communicated, and of which several are particularly interesting, will all receive the attention which they demand. We are deeply impressed with the importance of an effectual organization of the militia.

We rejoice at the intelligence of the advance and success of the army under the command of General Wayne. Whether we regard it as a proof of the perseverance, prowess and superiority of our troops, or as a happy presage to our military operations against the hostile Indians, as a probable prelude to the establishment of a lasting peace, upon terms of candour, equity and good neighbourhood—we receive it with the greater pleasure, as it increases the probability of sooner restoring a part of the public resources to the desirable object of reducing the public debt.

We shall on this, as on all occasions, be disposed to adopt any measure which may advance the safety and prosperity of our country.

In nothing can we more cordially unite with you than imploring the Supreme Ruler of Nations to multiply his blessings on the United States—to guard our free and happy constitution against every machination and danger—and to make it the best source of public happiness, by verifying its character of being the best safeguard of human rights.

THE PRESIDENT'S REPLY.

GENTLEMEN,

I ANTICIPATED with confidence, the concurrence of the House of Representatives, in the regret produced by the insurrection. Every effort ought to be used to discountenance what has contributed to foment it, and thus discourage a repetition of like attempts. For, notwithstanding the consolations which may be drawn from the issue of this event, it is far better that the artful approaches on such a situation of things should be checked by the vigilant and duly admonished patriotism of our fellow-citizens, than that the evil should increase until it become necessary to crush it by the strength of their arm.

I am happy that the part which I have myself borne on this occasion, receives the approbation of your house. For the discharge of a constitutional duty, it is a sufficient reward to me to be assured that you will unite in consummating what remains to be done.

I feel also great satisfaction in learning that the other subjects which I have communicated or recommended, will meet with due attention; that you are deeply impressed with the importance of an effectual organization of the militia; and that the army under the command of General Wayne, is regarded by you, no less than myself, as a proof of the perseverance, prowess and superiority of our troops.

G. WASHINGTON.

FOURTH CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION.

THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH.

FELLOW-CITIZENS OF THE SENATE, AND

OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

I TRUST I do not deceive myself, while I indulge the persuasion that I have never met you at any period when, more than at the present, the situation of our public affairs has afforded just cause for mutual congratulation, and for inviting you to join with me in profound gratitude to the Author of all good, for the numerous and extraordinary blessings we enjoy.

The termination of the long, expensive and distressing war, in which we have been engaged with certain Indians, north-west of the Ohio, is placed in the option of the United States, by a treaty, which the commander of our army has concluded provisionally with the hostile tribes in that region.

In the adjustment of the terms, the satisfaction of the Indians was deemed an object worthy no less of the policy than of the liberality of the United States, as the necessary basis of durable tranquility. This object, it is believed, has been fully attained. The articles agreed upon will immediately be laid before the Senate, for their consideration.

The Creek and Cherokee Indians, who alone of the southern tribes had annoyed our frontiers, have lately confirmed their pre-existing treaties with us, and were giving evidence of a sincere disposition to carry them into effect, by the surrender of the prisoners and property they had taken. But we have to lament, that the fair prospect in this quarter has been once more clouded by wanton murders, which some citizens of Georgia are represented to have re-

cently perpetrated on hunting parties of the Creeks ; which have again subjected that frontier to disquietude and danger ; which will be productive of further expence, and may occasion more effusion of blood. Measures are pursuing to prevent or mitigate the usual consequences of such outrages, and with the hope of their succeeding, at least to avert general hostility.

A letter from the Emperor of Morocco announces to me his recognition of our Treaty, made with his father the late Emperor ; and, consequently, the continuance of peace with that power. With peculiar satisfaction I add, that information has been received from an Agent deputed on our part to Algiers, importing that the terms of the Treaty with the Dey and Regency of that country had been adjusted in such a manner, as to authorise the expectation of a speedy peace, and the restoration of our unfortunate fellow-citizens, from a grievous captivity.

The latest advices from our Envoy at the court of Madrid, give, moreover, the pleasing information, that he had received assurances of a speedy and satisfactory conclusion of his negotiation. While the event depending upon unadjusted particulars, cannot be regarded as ascertained, it is agreeable to cherish the expectation of an issue, which, securing amicably very essential interests of the United States, will at the same time, lay the foundation of lasting harmony with a power whose friendship we have uniformly and sincerely desired to cultivate.

Though not before officially disclosed to the House of Representatives, you, gentlemen, are all apprized, that a Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation, has been negotiated with Great Britain, and that the Senate have advised and consented to its ratification, upon a condition which excepts part of one article. Agreeably thereto, and to the best

judgment I was able to form of the public interest, after full and mature deliberation, I have added my sanction. The result on the part of his Britannic Majesty is unknown. When received, the subject will, without delay, be placed before Congress.

This interesting summary of our affairs, with regard to the foreign powers, between whom and the United States controversies have subsisted ; and with regard also to those of our Indian neighbors with whom we have been in a state of enmity or misunderstanding, opens a wide field for consoling and gratifying reflections. If by prudence and moderation on every side, the extinguishment of all the causes of external discord, which have heretofore menaced our tranquility, on terms compatible with our national rights and honor, shall be the happy result ; how firm and how precious a foundation will have been laid for accelerating, maturing and establishing the prosperity of our country.

Contemplating the internal situation, as well as the external relations of the United States, we discover equal cause for contentment and satisfaction. While many of the nations of Europe, with their American dependencies, have been involved in a contest unusually bloody, exhausting and calamitous ; in which the evils of foreign war have been aggravated by domestic convulsion and insurrection ; in which many of the arts most useful to society have been exposed to discouragement and decay ; in which scarcity of subsistence has embittered other sufferings ; while even the anticipations of a return of the blessings of peace and repose, are alloyed by the sense of heavy and accumulating burthens, which press upon all the departments of industry, and threaten to clog the future springs of government ; our favored country, happy in a striking contrast, has enjoyed general tranquility ; a tranquility the more satisfactory, because maintained at the expense

of no duty. Faithful to ourselves, we have violated no obligation to others. Our agriculture, commerce and manufactures prosper beyond former example; the molestations of our trade (to prevent a continuance of which, however, very pointed remonstrances have been made) being overbalanced by the aggregate benefits which it derives from a neutral position. Our population advances with a celerity which, exceeding the most sanguine calculations, proportionally augments our strength and resources, and guarantees our future security. Every part of the Union displays indications of rapid and various improvement, and with burthens so light as scarcely to be perceived; with resources fully adequate to our present exigencies; with governments founded on the genuine principles of rational liberty, and with mild and wholesome laws;—is it too much to say, that our country exhibits a spectacle of national happiness never surpassed, if ever before equalled.

Placed in a situation every way so auspicious, motives of commanding force impel us, with sincere acknowledgment to Heaven, and pure love to our country, to unite our efforts to preserve, prolong and improve, our immense advantages. To co-operate with you in this desirable work, is a fervent and favorite wish of my heart.

It is a valuable ingredient, in the general estimate of our welfare, that the part of our country, which was lately the scene of disorder and insurrection, now enjoys the blessings of quiet and order. The misled have abandoned their errors, and pay the respect to our constitution and laws which is due from good citizens to the public authorities of the society. These circumstances have induced me to pardon, generally, the offenders here referred to; and to extend forgiveness to those who had been adjudged to capital punishment. For though I shall always think it a sacred duty, to exercise with firmness

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and energy the constitutional powers with which I am vested ; yet it appears to me no less consistent with the public good, than it is with my personal feelings, to mingle in the operations of government every degree of moderation and tenderness which the national justice, dignity and safety may permit.

GENTLEMEN,

Among the objects which will claim your attention in the course of the session, a review of our military establishment is not the least important. It is called for by the events which have changed, and may be expected still further to change the relative situation of our frontiers. In this review, you will doubtless allow due weight to the consideration, that the questions between us and certain foreign powers are not yet finally adjusted ; that the war in Europe is not yet terminated ; and that our Western Posts, when recovered, will demand provision for garrisoning and securing them. A statement of our present military force will be laid before you by the department of war.

With the review of our army establishment is naturally connected that of the militia. It will merit inquiry, what imperfections in the existing plan, further experience may have unfolded. The subject is of so much moment in my estimation, as to excite a constant solicitude, that the consideration of it may be renewed, till the greatest attainable perfection shall be accomplished. Time is wearing away some advantages for forwarding the object, while none better deserves the persevering attention of the public councils.

While we indulge the satisfaction, which the actual condition of our western borders so well authorizes, it is necessary that we should not lose sight of an important truth, which continually receives new confirmations, namely, that the provisions heretofore made with a view to the protection of the Indians

from the violences of the lawless part of our frontier inhabitants are insufficient. It is demonstrated that these violences can now be perpetrated with impunity ; and it can need no argument to prove, that unless the murdering of Indians can be restrained by bringing the murderers to condign punishment, all the exertions of the government to prevent destructive retaliations by the Indians, will prove fruitless, and all our present agreeable prospects illusory. The frequent destruction of innocent women and children, who are chiefly the victims of retaliation, must continue to shock humanity, and an enormous expense, to drain the treasury of the Union.

To enforce upon the Indians the observance of justice, it is indispensable that there shall be competent means of rendering justice to them. If these means can be devised by the wisdom of Congress ; and especially if there can be added an adequate provision for supplying the necessities of the Indians, on reasonable terms, (a measure, the mention of which I the more readily repeat, as in all the conferences with them, they urge it with solicitude) I should not hesitate to entertain a strong hope of rendering our tranquility permanent. I add, with pleasure, that the probability even of their civilization, is not diminished by the experiments which have been thus far made, under the auspices of government. The accomplishment of this work, if practicable, will reflect undecaying lustre on our national character, and administer the most grateful consolations that virtuous minds can know.

GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF
REPRESENTATIVES,

THE state of our revenue, with the sums which have been borrowed and reimbursed, pursuant to different acts of Congress, will be submitted from the proper departments ; together with an estimate of

the appropriations necessary to be made for the service of the ensuing year.

Whether measures may not be adviseable to reinforce the provision for the redemption of the public debt, will naturally engage your examination. Congress have demonstrated their sense to be, and it were superfluous to repeat mine, that whatsoever will tend to accelerate the honorable extinction of our public debt, accords as much with the true interest of our country as with the general sense of our constituents.

GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE, AND OF THE
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

THE statements which will be laid before you relative to the mint, will shew the situation of that institution ; and the necessity of some further legislative provisions, for carrying the business of it more completely into effect, and for checking abuses which appear to be arising in particular quarters.

The progress in providing materials for the frigates, and in building them ; the state of the fortifications of our harbours ; the measures which have been pursued for obtaining proper scites for arsenals, and for replenishing our magazines with military stores ; and the steps which have been taken towards the execution of the law for opening a trade with the Indians, will likewise be presented for the information of Congress.

Temperate discussion of the important subjects which may arise in the course of the session ; and mutual forbearance where there is a difference of opinion, are too obvious and necessary for the peace, happiness and welfare of our country, to need any recommendation of mine.

G. WASHINGTON,

United States, December 8, 1795.

ANSWER OF THE SENATE.

SIR,

IT is with peculiar satisfaction that we are informed by your speech to the two Houses of Congress, that the long and expensive war, in which we have been engaged with the Indians northwest of the Ohio, is in a situation to be finally terminated ; and though we view with concern the danger of an interruption of the peace so recently confirmed with the Creeks, we indulge the hope, that the measure you have adopted to prevent the same, if followed by those legislative provisions that justice and humanity equally demand, will succeed in laying the foundation of a lasting peace with the Indian tribes, on the Southern as well as on the Western frontiers.

The confirmation of our treaty with Morocco, and the adjustment of a treaty of peace with Algiers, in consequence of which our captive fellow-citizens shall be delivered from slavery, are events that will prove no less interesting to the public humanity, than they will be important in extending and securing the navigation and commerce of our country.

As a just and equitable conclusion of our depending negociations with Spain will essentially advance the interest of both nations, and thereby cherish and confirm the good understanding and friendship which we have at all times desired to maintain, it will afford us real pleasure to receive an early confirmation of our expectations on this subject.

The interesting prospect of our affairs with regard to the foreign powers, between whom and the United States controversies have subsisted, is not more satisfactory, than the review of our internal situations ; if from the former we derive an expectation of the extinguishment of all the causes of external discord, that have heretofore endangered our tranquility, and on terms consistent with our national honor and safety ; in the latter we discover those numerous and

wide spread tokens of prosperity, which in so peculiar a manner distinguish our happy country.

Circumstances thus every way auspicious, demand our gratitude and sincere acknowledgment to Almighty God, and require that we should unite our efforts in imitation of your enlightened, firm, and persevering example, to establish and preserve the peace, freedom, and prosperity of our country.

The objects which you have recommended to the notice of the Legislature, will, in the course of the session, receive our careful attention; and with a true zeal for the public welfare, we shall cheerfully co-operate in every measure that shall appear to us best calculated to promote the same.

JOHN ADAMS, *Vice President of the United States; and President of the Senate.*

December 12, 1795.

THE PRESIDENT'S REPLY.

GENTLEMEN,

WITH real pleasure I receive your address, recognizing the prosperous situation of our public affairs, and giving assurances of your careful attention to the objects demanding legislative consideration; and that with a true zeal for the public welfare, you will cheerfully co-operate in every measure which shall appear to you best calculated to promote the same.

But I derive peculiar satisfaction from your concurrence with me in the expressions of gratitude to Almighty God, which a review of the auspicious circumstances that distinguish our happy country have excited; and I trust that the sincerity of our acknowledgments will be evinced by a union of efforts to establish and preserve peace, freedom and prosperity.

G. WASHINGTON.

ANSWER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

SIR,

AS the Representatives of the People of the United States, we cannot but participate in the strongest sensibility to every blessing which they enjoy, and cheerfully join with you in profound gratitude to the Author of all good, for the numerous and extraordinary blessings which he has conferred on our favored country.

A final and formal termination of the distressing war which has ravaged our north-western frontier, will be an event which must afford a satisfaction proportioned to the anxiety with which it has long been sought; and in the adjustment of the terms, we perceive the true policy of making them satisfactory to the Indians, as well as to the United States, as the best basis of a durable tranquility. The disposition of such of the southern tribes, as had also heretofore annoyed our frontier, is another prospect in our situation so important to the interest and happiness of the United States, that it is much to be lamented that any clouds should be thrown over it, more especially by excesses on the part of our own citizens.

While our population is advancing with a celerity which exceeds the most sanguine calculations—while every part of the United States displays indications of rapid and various improvements—while we are in the enjoyment of protection and security, by mild and wholesome laws, administered by governments founded on the genuine principles of rational liberty, a secure foundation will be laid for accelerating, maturing, and establishing the prosperity of our country, if, by treaty and amicable negotiation, all those causes of external discord which heretofore menaced our tranquility shall be extinguished on terms compatible with our national rights and honor, and with our constitutional and great commercial interests.

Among the various circumstances in our internal situation, none can be viewed with more satisfaction and exultation, than that the late scene of disorder and insurrection has been completely restored to the enjoyment of order and repose. Such a triumph of reason and of law, is worthy of the free government under which it happened, and was justly to be hoped from the enlightened and patriotic spirit which pervades and actuates the people of the United States.

In contemplating that spectacle of national happiness which our country exhibits, and of which, you, Sir, have been pleased to make an interesting summary, permit us to acknowledge and declare the very great share which your zealous and faithful services have contributed to it, and to express the affectionate attachment which we feel for your character.

The several interesting subjects which you recommend to our consideration will receive every degree of attention which is due to them: and whilst we feel the obligation of temperance and mutual indulgence in all our discussions, we trust and pray that the result to the happiness and welfare of our country may correspond with the pure affection we bear to it.

THE PRESIDENT'S REPLY.

GENTLEMEN,

COMING as you do from all parts of the United States, I receive great satisfaction from the concurrence of your testimony in the justness of the interesting summary of our national happiness, which, as the result of my inquiries, I presented to your view. The sentiments we have mutually expressed of profound gratitude to the source of those numerous blessings, the Author of all good, are pledges of our obligations to unite our sincere and zealous endeavors, as the instruments of Divine Providence, to preserve and perpetuate them.

Accept, gentlemen, my thanks for your declaration, that to my agency you ascribe the enjoyment of a great share of these benefits. So far as my services contribute to the happiness of my country, the acknowledgment thereof by my fellow-citizens, and their affectionate attachment, will ever prove an abundant reward.

G. WASHINGTON.

N

FOURTH CONGRESS—SECOND SESSION.

*THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH.*

FELLOW-CITIZENS OF THE SENATE, AND OF THE
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

IN recurring to the internal situation of our country, since I had last the pleasure to address you, I find ample reason for a renewed expression of that gratitude to the Ruler of the universe, which a continued series of prosperity has so often and so justly called forth.

The acts of the last session, which required special arrangements, have been, as far as circumstances would admit, carried into operation.

Measures calculated to insure a continuance of the friendship of the Indians, and to preserve peace along the extent of our interior frontiers, have been digested and adopted. In the framing of these, care has been taken to guard, on one hand, our advanced settlements from the predatory incursions of those unruly individuals, who cannot be restrained by their tribes; and on the other hand, to protect the rights secured to the Indians by treaty; to draw them nearer to the civilized state; and inspire them with correct conceptions of the power, as well as justice of the government.

The meeting of the deputies from the Creek nation at Coleraine, in the state of Georgia, which had for a principal object the purchase of a parcel of their land by that State, broke up without its being accomplished; the nation having, previous to their departure, instructed them against making any sale: The occasion, however, has been improved, to confirm by a new treaty with the Creeks, their pre-existing engagements with the U. States; and to obtain their consent to the

establishment of trading houses, and military posts within their boundaries; by means of which their friendship and the general peace may be more effectually secured.

The period during the late session at which the appropriation was past, for carrying into effect the Treaty of Amity, Commerce & Navigation, between the United States and his Britannic Majesty, necessarily procrastinated the reception of the posts stipulated to be delivered, beyond the date assigned for that event. As soon, however, as the Governor General of Canada could be addressed with propriety on the subject, arrangements were cordially and promptly concluded for their evacuation, and the United States took possession of the principal of them, comprehending Oswego, Niagara, Detroit, Michilimakinac, and Fort Miami, where such repairs and additions have been ordered to be made, as appeared indispensable.

The Commissioners appointed on the part of the United States and of Great Britain, to determine which is the river St. Croix, mentioned in the treaty of peace of 1783, agreed in the choice of Egbert Benson, esq. of New-York, for the 3d commissioner. The whole met at St. Andrews, in Passamaquoddy bay, in the beginning of October, and directed surveys to be made of the rivers in dispute; but deeming it impracticable to have these surveys completed before the next year, they adjourned to meet at Boston in August 1797, for the final decision of the question.

Other Commissioners appointed on the part of the United States, agreeably to the 7th article of the treaty with Great Britain, relative to captures and condemnation of vessels and other property, met the commissioners of his Britannic Majesty in London, in August last, when John Trumbull, esq. was chosen by lot, for the 5th commissioner. In October fol-

lowing the board were to proceed to business. As yet, there has been no communication of Commissioners on the part of Great Britain, to unite with those who have been appointed on the part of the United States, for carrying into effect the 6th article of the treaty.

The treaty with Spain required that the Commissioners for running the boundary line between the territory of the United States and his Catholic Majesty's Provinces of East and West Florida, should meet at the Natches, before the expiration of six months after the exchange of the ratifications, which was effected at Arranjuez, on the 25th day of April ; and the troops of his Catholic Majesty occupying any posts within the limits of the United States were within the same period to be withdrawn. The Commissioner of the United States, therefore, commenced his journey for the Natches in September, and troops were ordered to occupy the posts from which the Spanish garrisons should be withdrawn. Information has been recently received of the appointment of a Commissioner on the part of his Catholic Majesty, for running the boundary line ; but none of any appointment for the adjustment of the claims of our citizens, whose vessels were captured by the armed vessels of Spain.

In pursuance of the Act of Congress, passed in the last session, for the protection and relief of American seamen, agents were appointed, one to reside in Great Britain, and the other in the West Indies. The effects of the agency in the West Indies are not yet fully ascertained ; but those which have been communicated, afford grounds to believe the measure will be beneficial. The agent destined to reside in Great Britain declining to accept the appointment, the business has consequently devolved on the minister of the U. States in London, and will command his attention, until a new agent shall be appointed.

After many delays and disappointments, arising out of the European war, the final arrangements for fulfilling the engagements made to the Dey and Regency of Algiers, will, in all present appearance, be crowned with success ; but under great, though inevitable disadvantages in the pecuniary transactions, occasioned by that war ; which will render a farther provision necessary. The actual liberation of all our citizens who were prisoners in Algiers, while it gratifies every feeling heart, is itself an earnest of a satisfactory termination of the whole negotiation. Measures are in operation for effecting treaties with the Regencies of Tunis and Tripoli.

To an active external commerce, the protection of a naval force is indispensable. This is manifest with regard to wars in which a state is itself a party. But besides this, it is in our own experience, that the most sincere neutrality is not a sufficient guard against the depredations of nations at war. To secure respect to a neutral flag, requires a naval force, organized and ready to vindicate it from insult or aggression. This may even prevent the necessity of going to war, by discouraging belligerent powers from committing such violations of the rights of the neutral party as may, first or last, leave no other option. From the best information I have been able to obtain, it would seem as if our trade to the Mediterranean without a protecting force will always be insecure, and our citizens exposed to the calamities from which numbers of them have but just been relieved.

These considerations invite the United States to look to the means, and to set about the gradual creation of a navy. The increasing progress of their navigation, promises them at no distant period, the requisite supply of seamen ; and their means in other respects, favour the undertaking. It is an encouragement likewise, that their particular situation will give

weight and influence to a moderate naval force in their hands. Will it not then be adviseable to begin without delay, to provide and lay up the materials for the building and equipping of ships of war ; and to proceed in the work by degrees in proportion as our resources shall render it practicable without inconvenience ; so that a future war of Europe may not find our commerce in the same unprotected state, in which it was found by the present ?

Congress have repeatedly, and not without success, directed their attention to the encouragement of manufactures. The object is of too much consequence not to insure a continuance of their efforts in every way which shall appear eligible. As a general rule, manufactures on the public account are inexpedient. But where the state of things in a country leaves little hope that certain branches of manufacture will, for great length of time, obtain ;—when these are of a nature essential to the furnishing and equipping of the public force in time of war ; are not establishments for procuring them on public account, *to the extent of the ordinary demand for the public service*, recommended by strong considerations of national policy, as an exception to the general rule ? Ought our country to remain in such cases dependent on foreign supply, precarious, because liable to be interrupted ? If the necessary articles should in this mode cost more in time of peace, will not the security and independence thence arising, form an ample compensation ? Establishments of this sort, commensurate only with the calls of the public service in time of peace, will, in time of war, easily be extended in proportion to the exigencies of the government ; and may even perhaps be made to yield a surplus for the supply of our citizens at large ; so as to mitigate the privations from the interruption of their trade. If adopted, the plan ought to exclude all those branches which are al-

ready, or likely soon to be established in the country; in order that there may be no danger of interference with pursuits of individual industry.

It will not be doubted, that with reference either to individual or national welfare, agriculture is of primary importance. In proportion as nations advance in population, and other circumstances of maturity, this truth becomes more apparent; and renders the cultivation of the soil more and more an object of public patronage. Institutions for promoting it, grow up supported by the public purse: And to what object can it be dedicated with greater propriety? Among the means which have been employed to this end, none have been attended with greater success, than the establishment of boards, composed of proper characters, charged with collecting and diffusing information, and enabled by premiums and small pecuniary aids, to encourage and assist a spirit of discovery and improvement. This species of establishment contributes doubly to the encrease of improvement; by stimulating to enterprise and experiment; and by drawing to a common center, the results every where, of individual skill and observation, and spreading them thence over the whole nation. Experience accordingly has shewn, that they are very cheap instruments of immense national benefits.

I have heretofore proposed to the consideration of Congress, the expediency of establishing a National University, and also a Military Academy. The desireableness of both these institutions, has so constantly increased with every new view I have taken of the subject, that I cannot omit the opportunity of once for all recalling your attention to them.

The assembly, to which I address myself, is too enlightened not to be fully sensible how much a flourishing state of the arts and sciences contributes

to national prosperity and reputation. True it is, that our country, much to its honour, contains many seminaries of learning, highly respectable and useful; but the funds upon which they rest, are too narrow to command the ablest professors in the different departments of liberal knowledge, for the institution contemplated; though they would be excellent auxiliaries.

Among the motives to such an institution, the assimilation of the principles, opinions and manners of our countrymen, by the common education of a portion of our youth from every quarter, well deserves attention. The more homogeneous our citizens can be made in these particulars, the greater will be our prospect of permanent union; and a primary object of such a national institution should be, the education of our youth in the science of *government*. In a republic, what species of knowledge can be equally important? And what duty more pressing on its legislature, than to patronize a plan for communicating it to those, who are to be the future guardians of the liberties of the country?

The institution of a military academy, is also recommended by cogent reasons. However pacific the general policy of a nation may be, it ought never to be without an adequate stock of military knowledge for emergencies. The first would impair the energy of its character, and both would hazard its safety, or expose it to greater evils when war could not be avoided. Besides, that war might often not depend upon its own choice. In proportion as the observance of pacific maxims might exempt a nation from the necessity of practising the rules of the military art, ought to be its care in preserving and transmitting by proper establishments, the knowledge of that art. Whatever argument may be drawn from particular examples, superficially viewed; a thorough examination of the subject will evince,

that the art of war is at once comprehensive and complicated; that it demands much previous study; and that the possession of it, in its most improved and perfect state, is always of great moment to the security of a nation. This therefore, ought to be a serious care of every government; and for this purpose, an academy, where a regular course of instruction is given, is an obvious expedient, which different nations have successfully employed.

The compensations to the officers of the United States, in various instances, and in none more than in respect to the most important stations, appear to call for legislative revision. The consequences of a defective provision are of serious import to the government. If private wealth is to supply the defect of public retribution, it will greatly contract the sphere within which the selection of character for office is to be made; and will proportionally diminish the probability of a choice of men able as well as upright. Besides that it would be repugnant to the vital principles of our government, virtually to exclude from public trusts, talents and virtue, unless accompanied by wealth.

While in our external relations, some serious inconveniencies and embarrassments have been overcome, and others lessened, it is with much pain and deep regret I mention, that circumstances of a very unwelcome nature, have lately occurred. Our trade has suffered and is suffering extensive injuries in the West Indies, from the cruisers, and agents of the French Republic; and communications have been received from its minister here, which indicate the danger of a further disturbance of our commerce by its authority; and which are, in other respects, far from agreeable.

It has been my constant, sincere and earnest wish, in conformity with that of our nation, to maintain cordial harmony, and a perfectly friendly understand-

ing with that republic. This wish remains unabated; and I shall persevere in the endeavor to fulfill it to the utmost extent of what shall be consistent with a just, and indispensable regard to the rights and honor of our country. Nor will I easily cease to cherish the expectation, that a spirit of justice, candour and friendship, on the part of the Republic, will eventually ensure success.

In pursuing this course, however, I cannot forget what is due to the character of our government and nation; or to a full and entire confidence in the good sense, patriotism, self respect and fortitude of my countrymen.

I reserve for a special message, a more particular communication on this interesting subject.

GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF
REPRESENTATIVES,

I have directed an estimate of the appropriations necessary for the service of the ensuing year, to be submitted from the proper department; with a view of the public receipts and expenditures to the latest period to which an account can be prepared.

It is with satisfaction I am able to inform you, that the revenues of the United States continue in a state of progressive improvement.

A reinforcement of the existing provisions for discharging our public debt was mentioned in my address at the opening of the last session. Some preliminary steps were taken towards it, the maturing of which will no doubt, engage your zealous attention during the present.—I will only add, that it will afford me a heartfelt satisfaction to concur in such farther measures, as will ascertain to our country the prospect of a speedy extinguishment of the debt. Posterity may have cause to regret, if from any motive, intervals of tranquility are left unimproved for accelerating this valuable end.

GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE, AND
OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

My solicitude to see the militia of the United States placed on an efficient establishment, has been so often, and ardently expressed, that I shall but barely recal the subject to your view on the present occasion; at the same time that I shall submit to your enquiry, whether our harbours are yet sufficiently secured.

The situation in which I now stand, for the last time, in the midst of the Representatives of the People of the United States, naturally recalls the period when the administration of the present form of government commenced; and I cannot omit the occasion to congratulate you, and my country, on the success of the experiment; nor to repeat my fervent supplications to the Supreme Ruler of the universe, and Sovereign Arbiter of nations, that his Providential care may still be extended to the United States; that the virtue and happiness of the people may be preserved; and that the government, which they have instituted for the protection of their liberties, may be perpetual.

G. WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES,
7th December, 1796.

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ANSWER OF THE SENATE.

WE thank you, Sir, for your faithful and detailed exposure of the existing situation of our country; and we sincerely join in sentiments of gratitude to an overruling Providence, for the distinguished share of public prosperity, and private happiness,

which the people of the United States so peculiarly enjoy.

We are fully sensible of the advantages that have resulted from the adoption of measures (which you have successfully carried into effect) to preserve peace, cultivate friendship, and promote civilization, amongst the Indian tribes, on the western frontiers ; feelings of humanity, and the most solid political interests, equally encourage the continuance of this system.

We observe with pleasure, that the delivery of the military posts, lately occupied by the British forces, within the territory of the United States, was made with cordiality, and promptitude, as soon as circumstances would admit ; and that the other provisions of our treaties with Great Britain and Spain, that were objects of eventual arrangement, are about being carried into effect, with entire harmony and good faith.

The unfortunate, but unavoidable difficulties, that opposed a timely compliance with the terms of the Algerine treaty, are much to be lamented ; as they may occasion a temporary suspension of the advantages to be derived, from a solid peace with that power, and a perfect security from its predatory warfare ; at the same time, the lively impressions that affected the public mind, on the redemption of our captive fellow citizens, afford the most laudable incentive to our exertions, to remove the remaining obstacles,

We perfectly coincide with you in opinion that the importance of our commerce demands a naval force for its protection against foreign insult and depredation, and our solicitude to attain that object will be always proportionate to its magnitude.

The necessity of accelerating the establishment of certain useful manufactures, by the intervention of legislative aid and protection, and the encourage-

ment due to agriculture, by the creation of boards, (composed of intelligent individuals) to patronise this primary pursuit of society, are subjects which will readily engage our most serious attention.

A national university may be converted to the most useful purposes.—The science of legislation, being so essentially dependant on the endowments of the mind, the public interests must receive effectual aid from the general diffusion of knowledge; and the United States will assume a more dignified station, among the nations of the earth, by the successful cultivation of the higher branches of literature.

A military academy may be likewise rendered equally important. To aid and direct the physical force of the nation, by cherishing a military spirit, enforcing a proper sense of discipline, and inculcating a scientific system of tactics, is consonant to the soundest maxims of public policy: connected with, and supported by such an establishment, a well regulated militia, constituting the natural defence of the country, would prove the most effectual, as well as economical, preservative of peace.

We cannot but consider with serious apprehensions, the inadequate compensations of the public officers, especially of those in the more important stations. It is not only a violation of the spirit of a public contract, but is an evil so extensive in its operations, and so destructive in its consequences, that we trust it will receive the most pointed legislative attention.

We sincerely lament, that whilst the conduct of the United States has been uniformly impressed with the character of equity, moderation, and love of peace, in maintainance of all their foreign relationships, our trade should be so harrassed by the cruisers, and agents of the republic of France throughout the extensive departments of the West Indies.

Whilst we are confident that no cause of complaint exists, that could authorise an interruption of our

tranquility, or disengage that republic from the bonds of amity, cemented by the faith of treaties, we cannot but express our deepest regrets that official communications have been made to you, indicating a more serious disturbance of our commerce. Although we cherish the expectation, that a sense of justice, and a consideration of our mutual interests, will moderate their councils; we are not unmindful of the situation in which events may place us, nor unprepared to adopt that system of conduct which is compatible with the dignity of a respectable nation, and necessity may compel us to pursue.

We cordially acquiesce in the reflection that the United States under the operation of the federal government, have experienced a most rapid aggrandizement and prosperity, as well political as commercial.

Whilst contemplating the causes that produce this auspicious result, we must acknowledge the excellence of the constitutional system and the wisdom of the legislative provisions;—but we should be deficient in gratitude and justice, did we not attribute a great portion of these advantages to the virtue, firmness and talents of your administration; which have been conspicuously displayed in the most trying times, and on the most critical occasions. It is, therefore, with the sincerest regret, that we now receive an official notification of your intentions to retire from the public employments of your country.

When we review the various scenes of your public life, so long and so successfully, devoted to the most arduous services, civil and military;—as well, during the struggles of the American revolution, as the convulsive periods of a recent date, we cannot look forward to your retirement, without our warmest affections and most anxious regards accompanying you; and without mingling with our fellow-citizens at large, the sincerest wishes for your personal happiness, that sensibility and attachment can express.

The most effectual consolation that can offer for the loss we are about to sustain, arises from the animating reflection, that the influence of your example will extend to your successors, and the United States thus continue to enjoy an able, upright, and energetic administration.

JOHN ADAMS, *Vice-President of the United States, and President of the Senate.*

THE PRESIDENT'S REPLY.

GENTLEMEN,

IT affords me a great satisfaction, to find in your address, a concurrence in sentiment with me, on the various topics which I presented for your information and deliberation; and that the latter will receive from you, an attention proportioned to their respective importance.

For the notice you take of my public services, civil and military, and your kind wishes for my personal happiness, I beg you to accept my cordial thanks. Those services, and greater, had I possessed ability to render them, were due to the unanimous calls of my country; and its approbation is my abundant reward.

When contemplating the period of my retirement, I saw virtuous and enlightened men, among whom I relied on the discernment and patriotism of my fellow-citizens, to make the proper choice of a successor: Men who would require no influential example to ensure to the United States "an able, upright and energetic administration." To such men, I shall cheerfully yield the palm of genius and talents, to serve our common country; but at the same time, I hope I may be indulged in expressing the consoling reflection (which consciousness suggests) and to

bear it with me to my grave, that none can serve with purer intentions than I have done, or with more disinterested zeal.

G. WASHINGTON.

ANSWER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

SIR,

THE House of Representatives have attended to your communication respecting the state of our country, with all the sensibility that the contemplation of the subject, and a sense of duty can inspire.

We are gratified by the information, that measures calculated to ensure a continuance of the friendship of the Indians, and to maintain the tranquility of the western frontier, have been adopted; and we indulge the hope that these, by impressing the Indian tribes with more correct conceptions of the justice, as well as the power of the United States, will be attended with success.

While we notice, with satisfaction, the steps that you have taken in pursuance of the late treaties with several foreign nations, the liberation of our citizens, who were prisoners at Algiers, is a subject of peculiar felicitation. We shall cheerfully co-operate in any further measures that shall appear, on consideration to be requisite.

We have ever concurred with you in the most sincere and uniform disposition to preserve our neutral relations inviolate, and it is, of course, with anxiety and deep regret we hear that any interruption of our harmony with the French republic has occurred; for we feel with you and with our constituents, the cordial and unabated wish to maintain a perfectly friendly understanding with that nation. Your endeavours to fulfil that wish, and by all honourable means to

preserve peace and restore that harmony and affection which have heretofore so happily subsisted between the French republic and the United States, cannot fail therefore to interest our attention. And while we participate in the full reliance you have expressed on the patriotism, self-respect, and fortitude of our countrymen, we cherish the pleasing hope, that a mutual spirit of justice and moderation will ensure the success of your perseverance.

The various subjects of your communication, will, respectively, meet with the attention that is due to their importance.

When we advert to the internal situation of the United States, we deem it equally natural and becoming to compare the present period with that immediately antecedent to the operation of the government, and to contrast it with the calamities in which the state of war still involves several of the European nations, as the reflections deduced from both, tend to justify as well as to excite, a warmer admiration of our free constitution, and to exalt our minds to a more fervent and grateful sense of piety towards Almighty God for the beneficence of his providence, by which its administration has been hitherto so remarkably distinguished.

And while we entertain a grateful conviction that your wise, firm and patriotic administration has been signally conducive to the success of the present form of government, we cannot forbear to express the deep sensations of regret with which we contemplate your intended retirement from office.

As no other suitable occasion may occur, we cannot suffer the present to pass without attempting to disclose some of the emotions which it cannot fail to awaken.

The gratitude and admiration of your countrymen are still drawn to the recollection of those resplendent virtues and talents which were so eminently in-

strumental to the achievements of the revolution, and of which that glorious event will ever be the memorial. Your obedience to the voice of duty and your country, when you quitted reluctantly, a second time, the retreat you had chosen, and first accepted the presidency, afforded a new proof of the devotedness of your zeal in its service, and an earnest of the patriotism and success which have characterised your administration. As the grateful confidence of the citizens in the virtues of their chief magistrate has essentially contributed to that success, we persuade ourselves that the millions whom we represent, participate with us in the anxious solicitude of the present occasion.

Yet we cannot be unmindful that your moderation and magnanimity, twice displayed by retiring from your exalted stations, afford examples no less rare and instructive to mankind, than valuable to a republic.

Although we are sensible that this event, of itself, completes the lustre of a character already conspicuously unrivalled by the coincidence of virtue, talents, success and public estimation; yet we conceive we owe it to you, sir, and still more emphatically to ourselves and to our nation; (of the language of whose hearts we presume to think ourselves at this moment the faithful interpreters) to express the sentiments with which it is contemplated.

The spectacle of a free and enlightened nation offering by its representatives the tribute of unfeigned approbation to its first citizen, however novel and interesting it may be, derives all its lustre, (a lustre which accident or enthusiasm could not bestow, and which adulation would tarnish) from the transcendent merit of which it is the voluntary testimony.

May you long enjoy that liberty which is so dear to you, and to which your name will ever be so dear: May your own virtues and a nation's prayers,

obtain the happiest sun-shine for the decline of your days and the choicest of future blessings. For our country's sake, for the sake of Republican liberty, it is our earnest wish that your example may be the guide of your successors, and thus, after being the ornament and safeguard of the present age, become the patrimony of our descendants.

THE PRESIDENT'S REPLY.

GENTLEMEN,

TO a citizen whose views were unambitious ; who preferred the shade and tranquility of private life, to the splendour and solicitude of elevated stations ; and whom the voice of duty and his country could alone have drawn from his chosen retreat ; no reward for his public services can be so grateful as public approbation, accompanied by a consciousness that to render those services useful to that country, has been his single aim ; and when this approbation is expressed by the representatives of a free and enlightened nation, the reward will admit of no addition. Receive, gentlemen, my sincere and affectionate thanks for this signal testimony that my services have been acceptable and useful to my country. The strong confidence of my fellow-citizens, while it animated all my actions, ensured their zealous co-operation which rendered those services successful. The virtue and wisdom of my successors, joined with the patriotism and intelligence of the citizens who compose the other branches of government, I firmly trust will lead them to the adoption of measures, which, by the beneficence of Providence, will give stability to our system of government ; add to its success ; and secure to ourselves and to posterity that liberty which is to all of us so dear.

While I acknowledge with pleasure the sincere and uniform disposition of the House of Representatives to preserve our neutral relations inviolate ; and with them deeply regret any degree of interruption of our good understanding with the French republic, I beg you, gentlemen, to rest assured, that my endeavours will be earnest and unceasing, by all honourable means to preserve peace, and to restore that harmony and affection which have heretofore so happily subsisted between our two nations ; and with you, I cherish the pleasing hope that a mutual spirit of justice and moderation, will crown those endeavours with success.

I shall cheerfully concur in the beneficial measures which your deliberations shall mature on the various subjects demanding your attention. And while directing your labours to advance the real interests of our country, you receive its blessings ; with perfect sincerity my individual wishes will be offered for your present and future felicity.

G. WASHINGTON.

FIFTH CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION.

 THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH.

Gentlemen of the Senate, and

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

THE personal inconveniences to the members of the Senate and of the House of Representatives, in leaving their families, and private affairs, at this season of the year, are so obvious, that I the more regret, the extraordinary occasion, which has rendered the convention of Congress indispensable.

It would have afforded me the highest satisfaction, to have been able to congratulate you, on a restoration of peace to the nations of Europe, whose animosities have endangered our tranquility—But we have still abundant cause of gratitude, to the Supreme dispenser of national blessings, for general health and promising seasons; for domestic and social happiness; for the rapid progress, and ample acquisitions of industry, through extensive territories; for civil, political, and religious liberty;—while other states are desolated with foreign war, or convulsed with intestine divisions, the United States present the pleasing prospect of a nation governed by mild and equal laws; generally satisfied with the possession of their rights; neither envying the advantages nor fearing the power of other nations; solicitous only for the maintenance of order and justice, and the preservation of liberty;—increasing daily in their attachment to a system of government in proportion to their experience of its utility; yielding a ready and general obedience to laws flowing from the reason, and resting on the only solid foundation, the affections of the people.—

It is with extreme regret that I shall be obliged to turn your thoughts to other circumstances, which admonish us, that some of these felicities may not be

lasting ; but if the tide of our prosperity is full, and a reflux commencing, a vigilant circumspection becomes us, that we may meet our reverses with fortitude, and extricate ourselves from their consequences, with all the skill we possess, and all the efforts in our power.

In giving to Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommending to their consideration such measures, as appear to me to be expedient or necessary, according to my constitutional duty, the causes and the object of the present extraordinary session, will be explained.

After the President of the United States received information, that the French government had expressed serious discontents, at some proceedings of the government of these States, said to affect the interests of France, he thought it expedient to send to that country a new minister, fully instructed to enter on such amicable discussions, and to give such candid explanations as might happily remove the discontents and suspicions of the French government, and vindicate the conduct of the United States.—For this purpose he selected from among his fellow-citizens, a character whose integrity, talents, experience, and services, had placed him in the rank of the most esteemed and respected in the nation ; the direct object of his mission was expressed in his letter of credence to the French republic, being “ to maintain that good understanding which from the commencement of the alliance had subsisted between the two nations ; and to efface unfavorable impressions ; banish suspicions, and restore that cordiality which was at once the evidence and pledge of a friendly union,” and his instructions were to the same effect “ faithfully to represent the disposition of the government and people of the United States, their disposition being one, to remove jealousies, and obviate complaints, by shewing that they were groundless, to restore that mutual

confidence which had been so unfortunately, and injuriously impaired, and to explain the relative interests of both countries, and the real sentiments of his own."

A minister thus specially commissioned, it was expected, would have proved the instrument of restoring mutual confidence between the two republics. The first step of the French government corresponded with that expectation; a few days before his arrival at Paris, the French minister of foreign relations, informed the American minister, then resident at Paris, of the formalities to be observed by himself in taking leave, and by his successor preparatory to his reception. These formalities they observed; and on the 9th of December, presented officially to the minister of foreign relations, the one a copy of his letters of recal, the other a copy of his letters of credence.

These were laid before the Executive Directory; two days afterwards, the minister of foreign relations informed the recalled American minister, that the Executive Directory had determined not to receive any minister plenipotentiary from the United States, until after the redress of grievances demanded of the American government, and which the French republic had a right to expect from it. The American minister immediately endeavored to ascertain, whether by refusing to receive him, it was intended that he should retire from the territories of the French republic; and verbal answers were given that such were the intentions of the Directory. For his own justification he desired a written answer; but obtained none until towards the last of January; when receiving notice in writing to quit the territories of the republic, he proceeded to Amsterdam, where he proposed to wait for instruction from this government. During his residence at Paris, cards of hospitality were refused him, and he was threatened with being

subjected to the jurisdiction of the minister of police—But with becoming firmness he insisted on the protection of the law of nations, due to him as the known minister of a foreign power.—You will derive further information from his dispatches, which will be laid before you.

As it is often necessary that nations should treat for the mutual advantage of their affairs, and especially to accommodate and terminate differences, and as they can treat only by ministers, the right of embassy is well known, and established by the law and usage of nations ; the refusal on the part of France to receive our minister, is then the denial of a right ; but the refusal to receive him, until we have acceded to their demands, without discussion, and without investigation, is to treat us neither as allies nor as friends, nor as a sovereign state.

With this conduct of the French government, it will be proper to take into view, the public audience given to the late minister of the United States, on his taking leave of the Executive Directory. The speech of the President discloses sentiments more alarming than the refusal of a minister, because more dangerous to our independence and union ; and at the same time studiously marked with indignities towards the government of the United States—it evinces a disposition to separate the people of the United States from the government ; to persuade them that they have different affections, principles, and interests, from those of their fellow-citizens whom they themselves have chosen to manage their common concerns, and thus to produce divisions fatal to our peace.—Such attempts ought to be repelled with a decision which shall convince France and the world that we are not a degraded people ; humiliated under a colonial spirit of fear and sense of inferiority, fitted to be the miserable instruments of foreign influence, and regardless of national honor, character and interest.

I should have been happy to have thrown a veil over these transactions, if it had been possible to conceal them ; but they have passed on the great theatre of the world, in the face of all Europe and America, and with such circumstances of publicity and solemnity that they cannot be disguised and will not soon be forgotten. They have inflicted a wound in the American breast; it is my sincere desire, however, that it may be healed ; it is my desire, and in this I presume I concur with you, and our constituents, to preserve peace and friendship with all nations ; and believing that neither the honor, nor the interest of the United States absolutely forbid the repetition of advances for securing these desirable objects with France, I shall institute a fresh attempt at negotiation, and shall not fail to promote and accelerate an accommodation, on terms compatible with the rights, duties, interests, and honor of the nation ; if we have committed errors, and these can be demonstrated, we shall be willing to correct them ; if we have done injuries, we shall be willing on conviction to redress them, and equal measures of justice we have a right to expect from France and every other nation.

The diplomatic intercourse between the United States and France, being at present suspended, the government has no means of obtaining official information from that country ; nevertheless there is reason to believe, that the Executive Directory passed a decree on the 2d of March last, contravening in part the treaty of Amity and Commerce of 1778, injurious to our lawful commerce, and endangering the lives of our citizens—a copy of this decree will be laid before you.

While we are endeavoring to adjust all our differences with France by amicable negotiation, the progress of the war in Europe, the depredations on our commerce, the personal injuries to our citizens, and

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the general complexion of affairs, render it my indispensable duty to recommend to your consideration effectual measures of defence.

The commerce of the United States has become an interesting object of attention, whether we consider it in relation to the wealth and finances, or the strength and resources of the nation. With a sea coast of near two thousand miles in extent, opening a wide field for fisheries, navigation and commerce, a great portion of our citizens naturally apply their industry and enterprise to these objects. Any serious and permanent injury to commerce would not fail to produce the most embarrassing disorders; to prevent it from being undermined, and destroyed, it is essential that it receive an adequate protection.

The naval establishment must occur to every man, who considers the injuries committed on our commerce, the insults offered to our citizens, and the description of the vessels by which these abuses have been practised; as the sufferings of our mercantile, and sea-faring citizens, cannot be ascribed to the omission of duties demandable, considering the neutral situation of our country, they are to be attributed to the hope of impunity, arising from a supposed inability on our part to afford protection. To resist the consequences of such impressions, on the minds of foreign nations, and to guard against the degradations and servility which they must finally stamp on the American character is an important duty of government.

A naval power next to the militia is the natural defence of the United States. The experience of the last war would be sufficient to shew that a moderate naval force, such as would be easily within the present abilities of the union, would have been sufficient to have baffled many formidable transportations of troops, from one state to another, which were then practised; our sea coasts from their great extent are

more easily annoyed, and more easily defended by a naval force than any other. With all the materials our country abounds; in skill, our naval architects and navigators are equal to any; and commanders and seamen will not be wanting.

But although the establishment of a permanent system of naval defence appears to be requisite, I am sensible it cannot be formed so speedily, and extensively, as the present crisis demands; hitherto I have thought proper to prevent the sailing of armed vessels except on voyages to the East-Indies, where general usage and the danger from pirates appeared to render permission proper; yet the restriction has been originated, solely from a wish to prevent collusions with the powers at war, contravening the act of Congress of June, 1794, and not from any doubt entertained by me of the policy and propriety of permitting our vessels to employ means of defence while engaged in a lawful foreign commerce. It remains for Congress to prescribe such regulations as will enable our sea-faring citizens to defend themselves against violations of the law of nations, and at the same time restrain them from committing acts of hostility against the powers at war. In addition to this voluntary provision for defence by individual citizens, it appears to me necessary, to equip the frigates and provide other vessels of inferior force to take under convoy such merchant vessels as shall remain unarmed.

The greater part of the cruizers, whose depredations have been most injurious, have been built, and some of them partially equipped in the United States. Although an effectual remedy may be attended with difficulty, yet I have thought it my duty to present the subject generally to your consideration. If a mode can be devised by the wisdom of Congress to prevent the resources of the United States from being converted into the means of annoying our trade, a

great evil will be prevented. With the same view I think it proper to mention, that some of our citizens resident abroad, have fitted out privateers, and others have voluntarily taken the command, or entered on board of them, and committed spoliations on the commerce of the United States; such unnatural and iniquitous practices can be restrained only by severe punishments.

But besides a protection of commerce on the seas, I think it highly necessary to protect it at home, where it is collected in our most important ports. The distance of the United States from Europe, and the well known promptitude, ardour, and courage of the people, in defence of their country, happily diminish the probability of invasion: nevertheless to guard against sudden and predatory incursions, the situation of some of our principal sea-ports demands your consideration; and as our country is vulnerable, in other interests, besides those of its commerce, you will seriously deliberate, whether the means of general defence ought not to be increased by an addition to the regular artillery and cavalry, and by arrangements for forming a provisional army.

With the same view, and as a measure, which even in time of universal peace, ought not to be neglected, I recommend to your consideration a revision of the laws for organising, arming and disciplining the militia, to render that natural and safe defence of the country efficacious.

Although it is very true that we ought not to involve ourselves in the political system of Europe, but to keep ourselves always distinct and separate from it, if we can; yet to effect this separation, early, punctual and continual information of the current chain of events and of the political projects in contemplation, is no less necessary than if we were directly concerned in them. It is necessary, in order to the discovery of the efforts made to draw us into

the vortex, in season to make preparations against them. However we may consider ourselves, the maritime and commercial powers of the world will consider the United States of America as forming a weight in that balance of power in Europe, which never can be forgotten or neglected. It would not only be against our interest, but it would be doing wrong to one half of Europe at least, if we should voluntarily throw ourselves into either scale. It is a natural policy for a nation that studies to be neutral, to consult with other nations engaged in the same studies and pursuits. At the same time that measures might be pursued with this view, our treaties with Prussia and Sweden, one of which is expired and the other near expiring, might be renewed.

GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF
REPRESENTATIVES,

It is particularly your province to consider the state of the public finances ; and to adopt such measures respecting them as exigences shall be found to require. The preservation of public credit, the regular extinguishment of the public debt, and a provision of funds to defray any extraordinary expences, will of course call for your serious attention. Although the imposition of new burthens cannot be, in itself, agreeable, yet there is no ground to doubt that the American people will expect from you such measures as their actual engagements, their present security, and future interests, demand.

Gentlemen of the Senate, and

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

THE present situation of our country imposes an obligation on all the departments of government, to adopt an explicit and decided conduct. In my situation, an exposition of the principles by which my administration will be governed, ought not to be omitted.

It is impossible to conceal from ourselves or the world, what has been before observed, that endeavours have been employed to foster and establish a division between the government and people of the United States. To investigate the causes which have encouraged the attempt, is not necessary. But to repel by decided and united councils, insinuations so derogatory to the honor, and aggressions so dangerous to the constitution, union, and even independence of the nation, is an indispensable duty.

It must not be permitted to be doubted, whether the people of the United States will support the government, established by their voluntary consent, and appointed by their free choice ; or whether, by surrendering themselves to the direction of foreign and domestic factions, in opposition to their own government, they will forfeit the honorable station they have hitherto maintained.

For myself, having never been indifferent to what concerned the interests of my country ; devoted the best part of my life to obtain and support its independence ; and constantly witnessed the patriotism, fidelity and perseverance of my fellow citizens, on the most trying occasions, it is not for me to hesitate, or abandon a cause, in which my heart has been so long engaged.

Convinced that the conduct of the government has been just and impartial to foreign nations ; and that those internal regulations which have been established by law for the preservation of peace, are, in their nature proper, and that they have been fairly executed : nothing will be done by me to impair the national engagements ; to innovate upon principles, which have been so deliberately and uprightly established ; or to surrender in any manner the rights of the government. To enable me to maintain this declaration, I rely, with entire confidence, under God, on the firm and enlightened support of the National

Legislature, and upon the virtue and patriotism of my fellow citizens.

JOHN ADAMS.

ANSWER OF THE SENATE.

SIR,

THE Senate of the United States request you to accept their acknowledgments for the comprehensive and interesting detail you have given in your speech to both Houses of Congress, on the existing state of the Union.

While we regret the necessity of the present meeting of the legislature, we wish to express our entire approbation of your conduct in convening it on this momentous occasion.

The superintendence of our national faith, honor and dignity, being, in a great measure, constitutionally deposited with the Executive, we observe, with singular satisfaction, the vigilance, firmness and promptitude, exhibited by you in this critical state of public affairs, and from thence derive an evidence and pledge of the rectitude and integrity of your administration. And we are sensible it is an object of primary importance, that each branch of the government should adopt a language and system of conduct which shall be cool, just and dispassionate, but firm, explicit and decided.

We are equally desirous with you to preserve peace and friendship with all nations, and are happy to be informed, that neither the honor nor interests of the United States forbid advances for securing those desirable objects, by amicable negotiation, with the French Republic. This method of adjusting national differences is not only the most mild, but the most rational and humane; and with governments disposed to be just, can seldom fail of success when

fairly, candidly, and sincerely used. If we have committed errors, and can be made sensible of them, we agree with you in opinion, that we ought to correct them, and compensate the injuries which may have been consequent thereon; and we trust the French Republic will be actuated by the same just and benevolent principles of national policy.

We do therefore most sincerely approve of your determination to promote and accelerate an accommodation of our existing differences with that Republic by negotiation, on terms compatible with the rights, duties, interests and honor of our nation: and you may rest assured of our most cordial co-operation so far as it may become necessary in this pursuit.

Peace and harmony with all nations is our sincere wish; but such being the lot of humanity, that nations will not always reciprocate peaceable dispositions, it is our firm belief that effectual measures of defence will tend to inspire that national self-respect and confidence at home, which is the unfailing source of respectability abroad, to check aggressions and prevent war.

While we are endeavouring to adjust our differences with the French Republic by amicable negotiation, the progress of the war in Europe, the depredations on our commerce, the personal injuries to our citizens, and the general complexion of affairs, prove to us your vigilant care in recommending to our attention effectual measures of defence.

Those which you recommend, whether they relate to external defence, by permitting our citizens to arm for the purpose of repelling aggressions on their commercial rights, and by providing sea convoys; or to internal defence, by increasing the establishment of artillery and cavalry, by forming a provisional army, by revising the militia laws, and fortifying more completely our ports and harbours—will

meet our consideration under the influence of the same just regard for the security, interest and honor of our country, which dictated your recommendation.

Practices so unnatural and iniquitous, as those you state, of our citizens converting their property and personal exertions into the means of annoying our trade, and injuring their fellow citizens, deserves legal severity commensurate with their turpitude.

Although the Senate believe that the prosperity and happiness of our country does not depend on general and extensive political connections with European nations, yet we can never lose sight of the propriety as well as necessity of enabling the executive, by sufficient and liberal supplies, to maintain, and even extend our foreign intercourse, as exigencies may require, reposing full confidence in the executive, in whom the constitution has placed the powers of negotiation.

We learn with sincere concern, that attempts are in operation to alienate the affections of our fellow citizens from their government. Attempts so wicked, wherever they exist, cannot fail to excite our utmost abhorrence. A government chosen by the people for their own safety and happiness, and calculated to secure both, cannot lose their affections, so long as its administration pursues the principles upon which it was erected—And your resolution to observe a conduct just and impartial to all nations, a sacred regard to our national engagements, and not to impair the rights of our government, contains principles which cannot fail to secure to your administration the support of the national legislature, to render abortive every attempt to excite dangerous jealousies among us, and to convince the world that our government and your administration of it cannot be separated from the affectionate support of every good citizen—And the Senate cannot suffer the present occasion to pass, without thus publicly and so-

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lemnly expressing their attachment to the constitution and government of their country ; and as they hold themselves responsible to their constituents, their consciences and their God, it is their determination by all their exertions to repel every attempt to alienate the affections of the people from the government, so highly injurious to the honor, safety, and independence of the United States.

We are happy, since our sentiments on the subject are in perfect unison with yours, in this public manner to declare, that we believe the conduct of the government has been just and impartial to foreign nations, and that those internal regulations which have been established for the preservation of peace, are in their nature proper, and have been fairly executed.

And we are equally happy in possessing an entire confidence in your abilities and exertions in your station, to maintain untarnished, the honor, preserve the peace, and support the independence of our country ; to acquire and establish which, in connection with your fellow citizens, has been the virtuous effort of a part of your life.

To aid you in the honorable and arduous exertions, as it is our duty, so it shall be our faithful endeavour. And we flatter ourselves, Sir, that the proceedings of the present session of Congress will manifest to the world, that although the United States love peace, they will be independent. That they are sincere in their declarations to be just to the French, and all other nations, and expect the same in return.

If a sense of justice, a love of moderation and peace, shall influence their councils, which we sincerely hope, we shall have just grounds to expect peace and amity between the United States and all nations will be preserved.

• But if we are so unfortunate as to experience injuries from any foreign power, and the ordinary me-

thods by which differences are amicably adjusted between nations shall be rejected—the *determination* “not to surrender in any manner the rights of the government,” being so inseparably connected with the dignity, interest and independence of our country, shall be steadily and inviolably supported.

THOMAS JEFFERSON,
*Vice-President of the United States,
and President of the Senate.*

THE PRESIDENT'S REPLY.

MR. VICE-PRESIDENT, AND

GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE,

IT would be an affectation in me to dissemble the pleasure I feel in receiving this kind address.

My long experience of the wisdom, fortitude and patriotism of the Senate of the United States, enhances, in my estimation, the value of those obliging expressions of your approbation of my conduct, which are a generous reward for the past, and an affecting encouragement to constancy and perseverance in future.

Our sentiments appear to be so entirely in unison, that I cannot but believe them to be the rational result of the understandings, and the natural feelings of the hearts, of Americans in general, in contemplating the present state of the nation. While such principles and affections prevail, they will form an indissoluble bond of union, and a sure pledge, that our country has no essential injury to apprehend, from any portentous appearances abroad. In a humble reliance on Divine Providence, we may rest assured, that while we reiterate with sincerity our endeavours to accommodate all our differences with France, the independence of our country cannot be

diminished, its dignity degraded, or its glory tarnished, by any nation, or combination of nations, whether friends or enemies.

JOHN ADAMS.

ANSWER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

SIR,

THE interesting detail of those events, which have rendered the convention of Congress at this time indispensable, (communicated in your speech to both Houses) has excited in us the strongest emotions. Whilst we regret the occasion, we cannot omit to testify our approbation of the measure, and to pledge ourselves that no consideration of private inconvenience, shall prevent on our part, a faithful discharge of the duties to which we are called.

We have constantly hoped, that the nations of Europe, whilst desolated by foreign wars, or convulsed by intestine divisions, would have left the United States to enjoy that peace and tranquility, to which the impartial conduct of our government has entitled us ; and it is now with extreme regret we find the measures of the French Republic tending to endanger a situation so desirable and interesting to our country.

Upon this occasion, we feel it our duty to express, in the most explicit manner, sensations which the present crisis has excited, and to assure you of our zealous co-operation in those measures which may appear necessary for our security or peace.

Although it is the earnest wish of our hearts, that peace may be maintained with the French Republic, and with all the world, yet we never will surrender those rights which belong to us as a na-

tion ; and whilst we view with satisfaction the wisdom, dignity and moderation, which have marked the measures of the Supreme Executive of our country, in its attempts to remove, by candid explanations, the complaints and jealousies of France, we feel the full force of that indignity which has been offered our country in the rejection of its minister. No attempts to wound our rights as a sovereign state will escape the notice of our constituents ; they will be felt with indignation, and repelled with that decision which shall convince the world that we are not a degraded people, that we can never submit to the demands of a foreign power, without examination and without discussion.

Knowing as we do the confidence reposed by the people of the United States in their government, we cannot hesitate in expressing our indignation at any sentiments tending to derogate from that confidence ; such sentiments, wherever entertained, serve to evince an imperfect knowledge of the opinions of our constituents.

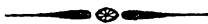
Sensibly as we feel the wound which has been inflicted, by transactions disclosed in your communication, yet we think with you that neither the honor nor the interest of the United States forbid the repetition of advances for preserving peace.

We therefore receive with the utmost satisfaction your information that a fresh attempt at negotiation will be instituted, and we cherish the hope that a mutual spirit of conciliation and a disposition on the part of France to compensate for any injuries which may have been committed on our neutral rights, and on the part of the United States to place France on grounds similar to those of other countries, in their relations and connection with us, if any inequalities shall be found to exist, will produce an accommodation compatible with the engagements, rights, interest and honor of the United States.

Fully, however, impressed with the uncertainty of the result, we shall prepare to meet with fortitude any unfavorable events which may occur, and to extricate ourselves from their consequences with all the skill we possess and with all the efforts in our power. Believing with you that the conduct of the government has been just and impartial to foreign nations, that the laws for the preservation of peace have been proper, and that they have been fairly executed, the Representatives of the people do not hesitate to declare, that they will give their most cordial support to the execution of principles so deliberately and uprightly established.

The many interesting subjects which you have recommended to our consideration, and which are so strongly enforced by this momentous occasion, will receive every attention which their importance demands ; and we trust that by the decided and explicit conduct which will govern our deliberations, every insinuation will be repelled which is derogatory to the honor and independence of our country.

Permit us in offering this address, to express our satisfaction at your promotion to the first office in the government, and our entire confidence that the pre-eminent talents and patriotism which have placed you in this distinguished situation, will enable you to discharge its various duties with satisfaction to yourself and advantage to our common country.



THE PRESIDENT'S REPLY.

MR. SPEAKER, AND GENTLEMEN OF
THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

I RECEIVE with great satisfaction your candid approbation of the convention of Congress, and thank you for your assurances, that the interesting

subjects recommended to your consideration shall receive the attention which their importance demands, and that your co-operation may be expected in those measures which may appear necessary for our security and peace.

The declaration of the representatives of this nation, of their satisfaction at my promotion to the first office in the government, and of their confidence in my sincere endeavors to discharge the various duties of it, with advantage to our common country, have excited my most grateful sensibility.

I pray you, gentlemen, to believe and to communicate such assurance to our constituents that no event, which I can foresee to be attainable by any exertions in the discharge of my duties, can afford me so much cordial satisfaction as to conduct a negotiation with the French Republic to a removal of prejudices, a correction of error, a dissipation of umbrages, an accommodation of all differences, and a restoration of harmony and affection to the mutual satisfaction of both nations: And whenever the legitimate organs of intercourse shall be restored and the real sentiments of the two governments can be candidly communicated to each other, although strongly impressed with the necessity of collecting ourselves into a manly posture of defence, I nevertheless entertain an encouraging confidence, that a mutual spirit of conciliation, a disposition to compensate injuries, and accommodate each other in all our relations and connections, will produce an agreement to a treaty, consistent with the engagements, rights, duties and honor of both nations.

JOHN ADAMS.

United States, June 3d, 1797.

FIFTH CONGRESS—SECOND SESSION.



THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH.

Gentlemen of the Senate, and

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

I WAS for some time apprehensive that it would be necessary, on account of the contagious sickness which afflicted the city of Philadelphia, to convene the National Legislature at some other place; this measure it was desirable to avoid, because it would occasion much public inconvenience and a considerable public expence, and add to the calamities of the inhabitants of this city, whose sufferings must have excited the sympathy of all their fellow-citizens; therefore, after taking measures to ascertain the state and decline of the sickness, I postponed my determination, having hopes, now happily realized, that without hazard to the lives or health of the members, Congress might assemble at this place, where it was next by law to meet. I submit, however, to your consideration, whether a power to postpone the meeting of Congress, without passing the time fixed by the Constitution, upon such occasions, would not be a useful amendment to the law of one thousand seven hundred and ninety four.

Although I cannot congratulate you on the re-establishment of peace in Europe, and the restoration of security to the persons and properties of our citizens from injustice and violence at sea; we have nevertheless abundant cause of gratitude to the source of benevolence and influence, for interior tranquility and personal security, for propitious seasons, prosperous agriculture, productive fisheries, and general improvements; and above all, for a rational spirit of civil and religious liberty, and a calm

but steady determination to support our sovereignty, as well as our moral and religious principles, against all open and secret attacks.

Our envoys extraordinary to the French republic embarked, one in July, the other early in August, to join their colleague in Holland. I have received intelligence of the arrival of both of them in Holland, from whence they all proceeded on their journeys to Paris about the 19th of September. Whatever may be the result of this mission, I trust that nothing will have been omitted on my part to conduct the negotiation to a successful conclusion, on such equitable terms as may be compatible with the safety, honor and interest of the United States—Nothing in the mean time will contribute so much to the preservation of peace, and the attainment of justice, as a manifestation of that energy, and unanimity of which on many former occasions, the people of the United States have given such memorable proofs, and the exertion of those resources for national defence, which a beneficent Providence has kindly placed within their power.

It may be confidently asserted, that nothing has occurred, since the adjournment of Congress, which renders inexpedient, those precautionary measures, recommended by me, to the consideration of the two houses at the opening of your late extraordinary session—If that system was then prudent, it is more so now, as increasing depredations strengthen the reasons for its adoption.

Indeed, whatever may be the issue of the negotiation with France, and whether the war in Europe is or is not to continue, I hold it most certain, that permanent tranquillity and order will not soon be obtained; the state of society has so long been disturbed, the sense of moral and religious obligation so much weakened, public faith and national honour have been so impaired, respect to treaties has been

so diminished, and the law of nations has lost so much of its force ; while pride, ambition, avarice, and violence, have been so long unrestrained, there remains no reasonable ground, on which to raise an expectation, that a commerce without protection or defence will not be plundered.

The commerce of the United States is essential, if not to their existence, at least to their comfort, their growth, prosperity and happiness ;—The genius, character, and habits of the people are highly commercial, their cities have been formed, and exist upon commerce ; our agriculture, fisheries, arts and manufactures, are connected with and depend upon it ; in short, commerce has made this country what it is ; and it cannot be destroyed or neglected, without involving the people in poverty and distress ;—great numbers are directly and solely supported by navigation ; the faith of society is pledged for the preservation of the rights of commercial, and sea faring, no less than of the other citizens ; under this view of our affairs, I should hold myself guilty of a neglect of duty, if I forbore to recommend, that we should make every exertion to protect our commerce, and to place our country in a suitable posture of defence, as the only sure means of preserving both.

I have entertained an expectation, that it would have been in my power, at the opening of this session, to have communicated to you, the agreeable information of the due execution of our treaty with his Catholic Majesty, respecting the withdrawing of his troops from our territory, and the demarcation of the line of limits ; but by the latest authentic intelligence, Spanish garrisons were still continued within our country, and the running of the boundary line had not been commenced ; these circumstances are the more to be regretted, as they cannot fail to affect the Indians in a manner injurious to the United

States ; still however, indulging the hope, that the answers which have been given will remove the objections offered by the Spanish officers to the immediate execution of the treaty, I have judged it proper that we should continue in readiness to receive the posts, and to run the line of limits—further information on this subject will be communicated in the course of the session.

In connection with this unpleasant state of things on our western frontier, it is proper for me to mention the attempts of foreign agents to alienate the affections of the Indian nations, and to excite them to actual hostilities against the United States ; great activity has been exerted by those persons, who have insinuated themselves among the Indian tribes, residing within the territory of the United States, to influence them to transfer their affections and force to a foreign nation, to form them into a confederacy, and prepare them for war against the United States. Although measures have been taken to counteract these infractions of our rights, to prevent Indian hostilities, and to preserve entire their attachment to the United States, it is my duty to observe, that to give a better effect to these measures, and to obviate the consequences of a repetition of such practices, a law providing adequate punishment for such offences may be necessary.

The commissioners appointed under the fifth article of the Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation, between the United States and Great Britain, to ascertain the river, which was truly intended under the name of the river St. Croix mentioned in the treaty of peace, met at Passamaquoddy bay in October, one thousand seven hundred and ninety six, and viewed the mouths of the rivers in question, and the adjacent shores and islands, and being of opinion, that actual surveys of both rivers to their sources were necessary, gave to the agents

of the two nations instructions for that purpose, and adjourned to meet at Boston in August: they met, but the surveys requiring more time than had been supposed, and not being then completed, the commissioners again adjourned to meet at Providence, in the State of Rhode-Island in June next, when we may expect a final examination and decision.

The commissioners appointed in pursuance of the sixth article of the treaty, met at Philadelphia in May last, to examine the claims of British subjects for debts contracted before the peace, and still remaining due to them from citizens, or inhabitants of the United States. Various causes have hitherto prevented any determination, but the business is now resumed, and doubtless will be prosecuted without interruption.

Several decisions on the claims of citizens of the United States, for losses and damages sustained, by reason of irregular and illegal captures or condemnation of their vessels, or other property, have been made by the commissioners in London conformably to the seventh article of the treaty.—The sums awarded by the commissioners have been paid by the British government; a considerable number of other claims, where costs and damages, and not captured property, were the only object in question, have been decided by arbitration, and the sums awarded to the citizens of the United States, have also been paid.

The commissioners appointed, agreeably to the twenty-first article of our Treaty with Spain met at Philadelphia, in the summer past, to examine and decide on the claims of our citizens for losses they have sustained in consequence of their vessels and cargoes having been taken by the subjects of his Catholic Majesty during the late war between Spain and France—their sittings have been interrupted, but are now resumed.

The United States being obligated to make compensation for the losses and damages sustained by British subjects, upon the award of the commissioners, acting under the sixth article of the Treaty with Great Britain, and for the losses and damages sustained by British subjects, by reason of the capture of their vessels, and merchandize, taken within the limits and jurisdiction of the United States, and brought into their ports, or taken by vessels originally armed in ports of the United States, upon the awards of the commissioners, acting under the seventh article of the same Treaty, it is necessary that provision be made for fulfilling these obligations.

The numerous captures of American vessels by the cruizers of the French Republic, and of some by those of Spain, have occasioned considerable expences in making and supporting the claims of our citizens, before their tribunals—the sums required for this purpose have in divers instances, been disbursed by the Consuls of the United States; by means of the same captures, great numbers of our seamen have been thrown ashore in foreign countries, destitute of all means of subsistence, and the sick in particular have been exposed to grievous sufferings—the Consuls have in these cases also advanced monies for their relief; for these advances, they reasonably expect reimbursements from the U. States.

The consular act relative to seamen requires revision and amendment; the provision for their support in foreign countries, and for their return are found to be inadequate and ineffectual. Another provision seems necessary to be added to the consular act; some foreign vessels have been discovered sailing under the flag of the United States, and with forged papers; it seldom happens that the Consuls can detect this deception, because they have no authority to demand an inspection of the registers and sea letters.

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

It is my duty to recommend to your serious consideration, those objects, which by the constitution, are placed particularly within your sphere, the national debts and taxes.

Since the decay of the feudal system by which the public defence was provided for, chiefly at the expence of individuals, the system of loans has been introduced; and no nation can raise, within the year, by taxes, sufficient sums for its defence and military operations in time of war, the sums loaned, and debts contracted have necessarily become the subjects of what have been called funding systems; the consequences arising from the constant accumulation of public debts, in other countries, ought to admonish us to be careful to prevent their growth in our own—the national defence must be provided for as well as the support of government, but both should be accomplished as much as possible by immediate taxes, and as little as possible by loans.

The estimates for the service of the ensuing year will by my direction be laid before you.

Gentlemen of the Senate, and

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

We are met together at a most interesting period! The situations of the principal powers of Europe are singular and portentous; connected with some by treaties, and with all by commerce, no important event there, can be indifferent to us: Such circumstances call with peculiar importunity, not less for a disposition to unite, in all those measures, on which the honor, safety, and prosperity of our country depend, than for all the exertions of wisdom and firmness.

In all such measures, you may rely on my zealous and hearty concurrence.

JOHN ADAMS.

UNITED STATES, }
November 22, 1797. }

ANSWER OF THE SENATE.

SIR,

THE communications you have thought proper to make in your speech to both houses of Congress, on the opening of their present session, afford additional proofs of the attention, integrity and firmness which have always marked your official character.

We cannot but approve of the measures you had taken to ascertain the state and decline of the contagious sickness which has so lately afflicted the city of Philadelphia, and the pleasing circumstance that Congress is now assembled at that place, without hazard to the health of its members, evinces the propriety of your having postponed a determination to convene the National Legislature at any other place.—We shall take into consideration the law of 1794 on this subject, and will readily concur in any amendment which may be deemed expedient.

It would have given us much pleasure to have received your congratulations on the re-establishment of peace in Europe, and the restoration of security to the persons and property of our citizens from injustice and violence at sea—But though these events so desirable to our country and the world, have not taken place, yet we have abundant cause of gratitude to the great disposer of human events for interior tranquility and personal security, for propitious seasons—prosperous agriculture, productive fisheries and general improvement, and above all, for a rational spirit of civil and religious liberty—and a calm, but steady determination to support our sovereignty against all open and secret attacks.

We learn with satisfaction that our Envoys Extraordinary to the French Republic had safely arrived in Europe, and were proceeding to the scene of negotiation—and whatever may be the result of the mission we are perfectly satisfied that nothing on

your part has been omitted which could in any way conduce to a successful conclusion of the negotiation upon terms compatible with the safety, honor and interest of the United States.—And we are fully convinced that in the mean time a manifestation of the unanimity and energy of which the people of the United States have given such memorable proofs, and a proper exertion of those resources of national defence which we possess, will essentially contribute to the preservation of peace, and the attainment of justice.

We think, sir, with you, that the commerce of the United States is essential to the growth, comfort and prosperity of our country—and that the faith of society is pledged for the preservation of the rights of commercial and sea-faring, no less than of other citizens—and even if our negotiation with France should terminate favorably, and the war in Europe cease, yet the state of society which unhappily prevails in so great a portion of the world, and the experience of past times, under better circumstances, unite in warning us that a commerce so extensive, and which holds out so many temptations to lawless plunderers can never be safe without protection and defence—and we hold ourselves obliged by every tie of duty which binds us to our constituents to promote and concur in such measures of marine defence as may convince our merchants and seamen that their rights are not sacrificed, nor their injuries forgotten.

We regret that notwithstanding the clear and explicit terms of the treaty between the United States and his Catholic Majesty, the Spanish garrisons are not yet withdrawn from our Territory, nor the running of the boundary line commenced. The United States have been faithful in the performance of their obligations to Spain, and had reason to expect a compliance equally prompt on the part of that power. We still however indulge the hope, that the convinc-

ing answers which have been given to the objections stated by the Spanish officers to the immediate execution of the treaty will have their proper effect, and this treaty, so mutually beneficial to the contracting parties, will be finally observed with good faith. We therefore entirely approve of your determination to continue in readiness to receive the posts and to run the line of partition between our Territory and that of the king of Spain. Attempts to alienate the affections of the Indians, to form them into a confederacy, and to excite them to actual hostility against the United States, whether made by foreign agents or by others, are so injurious to our interests at large, and so inhuman with respect to our citizens inhabiting the adjacent territory, as to deserve the most exemplary punishment, and we will cheerfully afford our aid in framing a law which may prescribe a punishment adequate to the commission of crimes so heinous.

The several objects you have pointed out to the attention of the Legislature, whether they regard our internal or external relations shall receive from us that attention which they merit, and we will readily concur in all such measures as may be necessary, either to enable us to fulfil our engagements at home, or to cause ourselves to be respected abroad. And at this portentous period, when the powers of Europe, with whom we are connected are in so critical a situation—And when the conduct of some of those powers towards the United States is so hostile and menacing, the several branches of the government are, in our opinion, called upon with peculiar importunity to unite.

And by union not only to devise and carry into effect those measures on which the safety and prosperity of our country depend, but also to undeceive those nations who regarding us as a weak and divided people, have pursued systems of aggression incon-

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sistent with a state of peace between independent nations. And, Sir, we beg leave to assure you, that we derive a singular consolation from the reflection, that at such a time the Executive part of our government has been committed to your hands. For in your integrity, talents and firmness we place the most entire confidence.

THE PRESIDENT'S REPLY.

GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE,

I THANK you for this Address—When, after the most laborious investigation, and serious reflection, without partial considerations, or personal motives, measures have been adopted or recommended, I can receive no higher testimony of their rectitude, than the approbation of an Assembly, so independent, patriotic and enlightened, as the Senate of the United States.

Nothing has afforded me more entire satisfaction, than the coincidence of your judgement with mine, in the opinion of the essential importance of our Commerce, and the absolute necessity of a maritime defence. What is it that has drawn to Europe the superfluous riches of the three other quarters of the globe, but a Marine? What is it that has drained the wealth of Europe itself into the coffers of two or three of its principal commercial powers, but a Marine?

The world has furnished no example of a flourishing commerce, without a maritime protection: and a moderate knowledge of man and his history, will convince any one that no such prodigy ever can arise. A mercantile marine and a military marine must grow up together: one cannot long exist without the other.

JOHN ADAMS.

United States, Nov. 28, 1797.

ANSWER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

SIR,

WHILE our sympathy is excited by the recent sufferings of the citizens of Philadelphia, we participate in the satisfaction which you are pleased to express, that the duration of the late calamity was so limited, as to render unnecessary the expense and inconvenience that would have been incident to the convention of Congress in another place : And we shall readily attend to every useful amendment of the law which contemplates the event of contagious sickness at the seat of government.

In lamenting the increase of the injuries offered to the persons and property of our citizens at sea, we gratefully acknowledge the continuance of interior tranquility, and the attendant blessings of which you remind us, as alleviations of these fatal effects of injustice and violence.

Whatever may be the result of the mission to the French Republic, your early and uniform attachment to the interest of our country—your important services in the struggle for its independence—and your unceasing exertions for its welfare—afford no room to doubt of the sincerity of your efforts to conduct the negotiation to a successful conclusion, on such terms as may be compatible with the safety, honor and interest of the United States. We have also a firm reliance upon the energy and unanimity of the people of these States, in the assertion of their rights, and on their determination to exert, upon all proper occasions, their ample resources in providing for the national defence.

The importance of commerce, and its beneficial influence upon agriculture, arts and manufactures, have been verified in the growth and prosperity of our country. It is essentially connected with the other great interests of the community. They must

flourish and decline together ; and while the extension of our navigation and trade, naturally excites the jealousy, and tempts the avarice of other nations, we are firmly persuaded, that the numerous and deserving class of citizens engaged in these pursuits, and dependent on them for their subsistence, has a strong and indisputable claim to our support and protection.

The delay of the Spanish officers to fulfil the treaty existing with his Catholic Majesty, is a source of deep regret.—We learn, however, with satisfaction, that you still indulge hopes of removing the objections which have been made to its execution, and that you have continued in readiness to receive the posts. Disposed to perform with fidelity our national engagements, nothing shall be wanting on our part to obtain the same justice from others, which we exercise towards them.

Our abhorrence cannot be too strongly expressed of the intrigues of foreign agents, to alienate the affections of the Indian nations, and to rouse them to acts of hostility against the United States. No means in our power should be omitted, of providing for the suppression of such cruel practices, and for the adequate punishment of their atrocious authors.

Upon the other interesting subjects noticed in your address, we shall bestow the requisite attention. To preserve inviolate the public faith, by providing for the due execution of our treaties ; to indemnify those who may have just claims to retribution upon the United States, for expences incurred in defending the property, and relieving the necessities of our unfortunate fellow-citizens : to guard against evasions of the laws intended to secure advantage to the navigation of our own vessels ; and especially, to prevent, by all possible means, an unnecessary accumulation of the public debt, are duties which we shall endeavor to keep in view, and discharge with assiduity.

We regard, with great anxiety, the singular and portentous situation of the principal powers of Europe. It was devoutly to be wished, that the United States, remote from the seat of war and discord; unambitious of conquest; respecting the rights of other nations; and, desirous merely, to avail themselves of their natural resources, might be permitted to behold the scenes which desolate that quarter of the globe, with only those sympathetic emotions which are natural to the lovers of peace, and friends of the human race. But we are led by the events to associate with these feelings a sense of the dangers which menace our security and peace. We rely upon your assurances of a zealous and hearty concurrence in such measures as may be necessary to avert these dangers;—and nothing on our part shall be wanting to repel them which the honor, safety and prosperity of our country may require.

THE PRESIDENT'S REPLY.

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

I RECEIVE this address from the House of Representatives of the United States with peculiar pleasure.

Your approbation of the meeting of Congress in this City, and of those other measures of the Executive authority of government communicated in my address to both houses at the opening of the session, afford me great satisfaction; as the strongest desire of my heart is to give satisfaction to the People and their Representatives by a faithful discharge of my duty.

The confidence you put in the sincerity of my endeavors, and in the unanimity of the people, does me much honor, and gives me great joy.

I rejoice in that harmony which appears in the sentiments of all the branches of the importance of our commerce, and our obligations to defend it, as well as in all other subjects recommended to your consideration, and sincerely congratulate you and our fellow-citizens at large, on this appearance, so auspicious to the honor, interest and happiness of the nation.

JOHN ADAMS.

United States, Nov. 29, 1797.

FIFTH CONGRESS—THIRD SESSION.

 THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH.

Gentlemen of the Senate, and

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

WHILE, with reverence and resignation, we contemplate the dispensations of Divine Providence, in the alarming and destructive pestilence with which several of our cities and towns have been visited; there is cause for gratitude and mutual congratulations, that the malady has disappeared, and that we are again permitted to assemble in safety, at the seat of government, for the discharge of our important duties. But when we reflect that this fatal disorder has, within a few years, made repeated ravages in some of our principal sea ports, and with increased malignancy, and when we consider the magnitude of the evils arising from the interruption of public and private business, whereby the national interests are deeply affected—I think it my duty to invite the Legislature of the Union to examine the expediency of establishing suitable regulations in aid of the health laws of the respective states; for these being formed on the idea that contagious sickness may be communicated through the channels of commerce, there seems to be a necessity that Congress, who alone can regulate trade, should frame a system, which, while it may tend to preserve the general health, may be compatible with the interests of commerce, and the safety of the revenue.

While we think on this calamity, and sympathise with the immediate sufferers, we have abundant reason to present to the Supreme Being our annual oblations of gratitude, for a liberal participation in the ordinary blessings of his Providence. To the usual

subjects of gratitude, I cannot omit to add one of the first importance to our well being and safety : I mean that spirit which has arisen in our country against the menaces and aggression of a foreign nation. A manly sense of national honor, dignity and independence, has appeared, which if encouraged and invigorated by every branch of the government, will enable us to view undismayed, the enterprizes of any foreign power, and become the sure foundation of national prosperity and glory.

The course of the transactions in relation to the United States and France, which have come to my knowledge during your recess, will be made the subject of a future communication. That communication will confirm the ultimate failure of the measures which have been taken by the government of the United States, towards an amicable adjustment of differences with that power. You will at the same time perceive, that the French government appears solicitous to impress the opinion, that it is averse to a rupture with this country, and that it has in a qualified manner, declared itself willing to receive a minister from the United States, for the purpose of restoring a good understanding. It is unfortunate for professions of this kind, that they should be expressed in terms which may countenance the inadmissible pretension of a right to prescribe the qualifications which a minister from the United States should possess, and that while France is asserting the existence of a disposition on her part to conciliate with sincerity a like disposition on the part of the United States, of which so many demonstrative proofs have been given, should even be indirectly questioned. It is also worthy of observation, that the decree of the Directory alleged to be intended to restrain the depredations of French cruisers on our commerce, has not given and cannot give any relief; it enjoins them to conform to all the laws of France

relative to cruizing and prizes, while these laws are, themselves, the sources of the depredations of which we have so long, so justly, and so fruitlessly complained.

The law of France enacted in January last, which subjects to capture and condemnation neutral vessels and their cargoes, if any portion of the latter are of British fabric or produce, although the entire property belong to neutrals, instead of being rescinded, has lately received a confirmation, by the failure of a proposition for its repeal. While this law, which is an unequivocal act of war on the commerce of the nations it attacks, continues in force, these nations can see in the French government only a power regardless of their essential rights, of their independence and sovereignty; and if they possess the means, they can reconcile nothing with their interest and honor, but a firm resistance.

Hitherto, therefore, nothing is discoverable in the conduct of France, which ought to change or relax our measures of defence; on the contrary, to extend and invigorate them, is true policy. We have no reason to regret that these measures have been thus far adopted and pursued; and in proportion as we enlarge our view of the portentous and incalculable situation of Europe, we shall discover new and cogent motives for the developement of our energies and resources.

But in demonstrating by our conduct, that we do not fear war, in the necessary protection of our rights and honor, we shall give no room to infer that we abandon the desire of peace. An efficient preparation for war can alone ensure peace. It is peace that we have uniformly and perseveringly cultivated, and harmony between us and France may be restored at her option. But to send another minister, without more determined assurances that he would be received, would be an act of humiliation to which the

United States ought not to submit. It must therefore be left to France, if she is indeed desirous of accommodation, to take the requisite steps. The United States will steadily observe the maxims by which they have hitherto been governed. She will respect the sacred rights of embassy. And with a sincere disposition on the part of France to desist from hostility, to make reparation for the injuries heretofore inflicted on her commerce, and to do justice in future, there will be no obstacle to the restoration of a friendly intercourse. In making to you this declaration, I give a pledge to France and to the world, that the executive authority of this country still adheres to the humane and pacific policy, which has invariably governed its proceedings, in conformity with the wishes of the other branches of the government and of the people of the United States. But considering the late manifestations of her policy towards foreign nations, I deem it a duty deliberately and solemnly to declare my opinion, that whether we negotiate with her or not, vigorous preparations for war will be alike indispensable. These alone will give to us an equal treaty, and insure its observance.

Among the measures of preparation, which appear expedient, I take the liberty to recal your attention to the Naval establishment. The beneficial effects of the small naval armament, provided under the acts of the last session, are known and acknowledged. Perhaps no country ever experienced more sudden and remarkable advantages from any measure of policy, than we have derived from the arming for our maritime protection and defence. We ought, without loss of time, to lay the foundation for an increase of our navy to a size sufficient to guard our coast, and protect our trade. Such a naval force, as it is doubtless in the power of the United States to create and maintain, would also afford to them the best

means of general defence, by facilitating the safe transportation of troops and stores to every part of our extensive coast. To accomplish this important object, a prudent foresight requires that systematical measures be adopted for procuring at all times, the requisite timber and other supplies. In what manner this shall be done I leave to your consideration.

I will now advert, gentlemen, to some matters of less moment, but proper to be communicated to the National Legislature.

After the Spanish garrisons had evacuated the posts they had occupied at the Natchez and Walnut Hills, the Commissioner of the United States commenced his observations to ascertain the point near the Mississippi, which terminated the northernmost part of the thirty first degree of north latitude. From thence he proceeded to run the boundary line between the United States and Spain. He was afterwards joined by the Spanish Commissioner, when the work of the former was confirmed; and they proceeded together to the demarkation of the line. Recent information renders it probable that the southern Indians, either instigated to oppose the demarkation, or jealous of the consequences of suffering white people to run a line over lands to which the Indian title had not been extinguished, have ere this time stopped the progress of the Commissioners. And considering the mischiefs which may result from continuing the demarkation, in opposition to the will of the Indian Tribes, the great expence attending it, and that the boundaries which the Commissioners have actually established, probably extend at least as far as the Indian title has been extinguished. it will perhaps become expedient and necessary to suspend further proceedings, by recalling our Commissioner.

The Commissioners appointed in pursuance of the fifth article of the treaty of amity, commerce and

navigation, between the United States and his Britannic Majesty, to determine what river was truly intended under the name of the river St. Croix, mentioned in the treaty of peace, and forming a part of the boundary therein described, have finally decided that question. On the twenty fifth of October, they made their declaration that a river called Scodiac, which falls into Passamaquoddy Bay, at its north-western quarter, was the true St. Croix intended in the treaty of peace, as far as its great fork, where one of its streams comes from the westward and the other from the northward, and that the latter stream is the continuation of the St. Croix to its source. This decision, it is understood, will preclude all contention among individual claimants, as it seems that the Scodiac and its northern branch, bound the grants of lands which have been made by the respective adjoining governments. A subordinate question, however, it has been suggested, still remains to be determined. Between the mouth of the St. Croix, as now settled, and what is usually called the Bay of Fundy, lie a number of valuable islands. The Commissioners have not continued the boundary line through any channel of these islands, and unless the Bay of Passamaquoddy be a part of the Bay of Fundy, this further adjustment of boundary will be necessary. But it is apprehended that this will not be a matter of any difficulty.

Such progress has been made in the examination and decision of cases of captures and condemnations of American vessels, which were the subject of the seventh article of the treaty of amity, commerce and navigation between the United States and Great Britain, that it is supposed the Commissioners will be able to bring their business to a conclusion in August of the ensuing year.

The Commissioners acting under the twenty fifth article of the treaty between the United States and

Spain, have adjusted most of the claims of our citizens for losses sustained in consequence of their vessels and cargoes having been taken by the subjects of his Catholic Majesty, during the late war between France and Spain.

Various circumstances have concurred to delay the execution of the law for augmenting the military establishment. Among these the desire of obtaining the fullest information to direct the best selection of officers. As this object will now be speedily accomplished, it is expected that the raising and organising of the troops will proceed without obstacle, and with effect.

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

I HAVE directed an estimate of the appropriations which will be necessary for the service of the ensuing year, to be laid before you, accompanied with a view of the public receipts and expenditures to a recent period. It will afford you satisfaction to infer the great extent and solidity of the public resources, from the prosperous state of the finances, notwithstanding the unexampled embarrassments which have attended commerce. When you reflect on the conspicuous examples of patriotism and liberality which have been exhibited by our mercantile fellow citizens, and how great a proportion of the public resources depends on their enterprize, you will naturally consider, whether their convenience cannot be promoted and reconciled with the security of the revenue, by a revision of the system by which the collection is at present regulated.

During your recess, measures have been steadfastly pursued for effecting the valuations and returns directed by the act of the last session preliminary to the assessment and collection of a direct tax. No other delays or obstacles have been experienced except such as were expected to arise from the great

extent of our country, and the magnitude and novelty of the operation, and enough has been accomplished to assure a fulfilment of the views of the legislature.

*Gentlemen of the Senate, and
Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,*

I CANNOT close this address, without once more adverting to our political situation, and inculcating the essential importance of uniting in the maintenance of our dearest interests, and I trust, that by the temper and wisdom of your proceedings, and by a harmony of measures, we shall secure to our country that weight and respect to which it is so justly entitled.

JOHN ADAMS.

United States, December 8, 1798.

ANSWER OF THE SENATE.

SIR,

THE Senate of the United States join you in thanks to the Almighty God for the removal of the late afflicting dispensations of his providence, and for the *patriotic spirit*, and general prosperity of our country. Sympathy for the sufferings of our fellow citizens from disease, and the important interests of the Union, demand of the national Legislature a ready co-operation with the state governments, in the use of such means as seem best calculated to prevent the return of this fatal calamity.

Although we have sincerely wished that an adjustment of our differences with the republic of France might be effected on safe and honorable terms, yet the information you have given us of the ultimate failure of the negociation has not surprized us. In the general conduct of that republic, we have seen a

design of universal influence, incompatible with the self government, and destructive of the independence of other states. In its conduct towards the United States, we have seen a plan of hostility pursued with unremitted constancy, equally disregarding the obligations of treaties, and the rights of individuals. We have seen two embassies formed for the purpose of mutual explanations, and clothed with the most extensive and liberal powers, dismissed without recognition, and even without a hearing.

The government of France has not only refused to repeal, but has recently enjoined the observance of its former edict, respecting merchandize of British fabric or produce, the property of neutrals, by which the interruption of our lawful commerce, and the spoliation of the property of our citizens have again received a public sanction—These facts indicate no change of system or disposition—they speak a more intelligible language than professions of solicitude to avoid a rupture, however ardently made. But, if after the repeated proofs we have given of a sincere desire for peace, these professions should be accompanied by insinuations, implicating the integrity with which it has been pursued. If neglecting and passing by the constitutional and authorized agents of the government they are made through the medium of individuals without public character or authority—and above all, if they carry with them a claim to prescribe the political qualifications of the minister of the United States, to be employed in the negotiation, they are not entitled to attention or consideration, but ought to be regarded as designed to separate the people from their government, and to bring about by intrigue that which open force could not effect.

We are of opinion with you, Sir, that there has nothing yet been discovered in the conduct of France which can justify a relaxation of the means of defence

adopted during the last session of Congress, the happy result of which is so strongly and generally marked. If the force by sea and land which the existing laws authorised should be judged inadequate to the public defence, we will perform the indispensable duty of bringing forward such other acts as will effectually call forth the resources and force of our country.

A steady adherence to this wise and manly policy—a proper direction of the noble spirit of patriotism which has arisen in our country and which ought to be cherished and invigorated by every branch of the government, will secure our liberty and independence against all open and secret attacks.

We enter on the business of the present session with an anxious solicitude for the public good, and shall bestow that consideration on the several objects pointed out in your communication, which they respectively merit.

Your long and important services—your talents and firmness so often displayed in the most trying times and most critical situations, afford a sure pledge of a zealous co-operation in every measure necessary to secure us justice and respect.



THE PRESIDENT'S REPLY.

GENTLEMEN,

I THANK you for this address, so conformable to the spirit of our constitution, and the established character of the Senate of the United States, for wisdom, honor and virtue.

I have seen no real evidence of any change of system or disposition in the French Republic, towards the United States. Altho' the officious interference of individuals, without public character or authority, is

not entitled to any credit, yet it deserves to be considered, whether that temerity and impertinence of individuals, affecting to interfere in public affairs; between France and the United States, whether by their secret correspondence, or otherwise, and intended to impose upon the people, and separate them from their government, ought not to be inquired into and corrected.

I thank you, gentlemen, for your assurances that you will bestow that consideration on the several objects pointed out in my communication, which they respectively merit.

If I have participated in that understanding, sincerity and constancy which have been displayed by my fellow-citizens and countrymen, in the most trying times and critical situations, and fulfilled my duties to them, I am happy. The testimony of the Senate of the United States, in my favor, is an high and honorable reward, which receives, as it merits, my grateful acknowledgements. My zealous co-operation, in measures necessary to secure us justice and consideration; may be always depended on.

JOHN ADAMS.

Philadelphia, Dec. 12, 1798.

ANSWER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

SIR,

THE House of Representatives unite with you in deploring the effects of the desolating malady by which the seat of government and other parts of our country have recently been visited. In calling our attention to the fatality of its repeated ravages, and inviting us to consider the expediency of exercising our constitutional powers, in aid of the health laws of the respective states, your recommendation is sanc-

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tioned by the dictates of humanity and liberal policy. On this interesting subject we feel the necessity of adopting every wise expedient for preventing a calamity so distressing to individual sufferers, and so prejudicial to our national commerce.

That our finances are in a prosperous state, notwithstanding the commercial derangements resulting from this calamity, and from external embarrassments, is a satisfactory manifestation of the great extent and solidity of the public resources. Connected with this situation of our fiscal concerns, the assurance that the legal provisions for obtaining revenue by direct taxation will fulfil the views of the Legislature, is peculiarly acceptable.

Desirous as we are that all causes of hostility may be removed by the amicable adjustment of national differences, we learn with satisfaction, that in pursuance of our treaties with Spain and with Great Britain, advances have been made for definitively settling the controversies relative to the southern and the north-eastern limits of the United States. With similar sentiments have we received your information, that the proceedings under commissions authorised by the same treaties, afford to a respectable portion of our citizens, the prospect of a final decision on their claims for maritime injuries committed by subjects of those powers.

It would be the theme of mutual felicitation, were we assured of experiencing similar moderation and justice from the French Republic, between which and the United States differences have unhappily arisen. But this is denied us by the ultimate failure of the measures which have been taken by this government towards an amicable adjustment of those differences, and by the various inadmissible pretensions on the part of that nation.

The continuing in force the decree of January last, to which you have more particularly pointed, ought,

of itself, to be considered as demonstrative of the real intentions of the French government. That decree proclaims a predatory warfare against the unquestionable rights of neutral commerce; which with our means of defence, our interest and our honour command us to repel. It therefore now becomes the United States to be as determined in resistance as they have been patient in suffering, and condescending in negotiation.

While those who direct the affairs of France persist in the enforcement of decrees so hostile to our essential rights, their conduct forbids us to confide in any of their professions of amity.

As therefore the conduct of France hitherto exhibits nothing which ought to change or relax our measures of defence, the policy of extending and invigorating those measures, demands our sedulous attention. The sudden and remarkable advantages which this country has experienced from a small naval armament, sufficiently prove the utility of its establishment. As it respects the guarding of our coast, the protection of our trade, and the facility of safely transporting the means of territorial defence to every part of our maritime frontier, an adequate naval force must be considered as an important object of national policy. Nor do we hesitate to adopt the opinion, that whether negotiations with France are resumed or not, vigorous preparations for war will be alike indispensable.

In this conjuncture of affairs, while with you we recognize our abundant cause of gratitude to the Supreme Disposer of events for the ordinary blessings of Providence, we regard, as of high national importance, the manifestation, in our country, of a magnanimous spirit of resistance to foreign domination. This spirit merits to be cherished and invigorated by every branch of government, as the estimable pledge of national prosperity and glory.

Disdaining a reliance on foreign protection ; wanting no foreign guarantee of our liberties ; resolving to maintain our national independence against every attempt to despoil us of this inestimable treasure, we confide, under Providence, in the patriotism and energies of the people of these United States for the defeating the hostile enterprizes of any foreign power.

To adopt with prudent foresight such systematical measures as may be expedient for calling forth those energies whenever the national exigencies may require, whether on the ocean, or on our own territory, and to reconcile with the proper security of revenue, the convenience of mercantile enterprise, on which so great a proportion of the public resources depends—are objects of moment, which shall be duly regarded in the course of our deliberations.

Fully as we accord with you in the opinion, that the United States ought not to submit to the humiliation of sending another minister to France, without previous assurances sufficiently determinate that he will be duly accredited, we have heard, with cordial approbation, the declaration of your purpose, steadily to observe those maxims of humane and pacific policy by which the United States have hitherto been governed. While it is left with France to take the requisite steps for accommodation, it is worthy the Chief Magistrate of a free people, to make known to the world, that justice on the part of France will annihilate every obstacle to the restoration of a friendly intercourse, and that the Executive authority of this country will respect the sacred rights of embassy. At the same time, the wisdom and decision which have characterised your past administration, assure us, that no illusory professions will seduce you into any abandonment of the rights which belong to the United States, as a free and independent nation,

THE PRESIDENT'S REPLY.

GENTLEMEN,

MY sincere acknowledgements are due to the House of Representatives of the United States, for this excellent address, so consonant to the character of representatives of a great and free people. The judgment and feelings of a nation, I believe, were never more truly expressed by their representatives than those of our constituents, by your decided declaration, that with our means of defence, our interest and honor command us to repel a predatory warfare against the unquestionable rights of a neutral commerce. That it becomes the United States to be as determined in resistance as they have been patient in suffering and condescending in negotiation. That while those who direct the affairs of France persist in the enforcement of decrees, so hostile to our essential rights, their conduct forbids us to confide in any of their professions of amity; that an adequate naval force must be considered as an important object of national policy, and that whether negotiations with France are resumed or not, vigorous preparations for war will be alike indispensable.

The generous disdain you so coolly and deliberately express, of a reliance on foreign protection, wanting no foreign guarantee of our liberties, resolving to maintain our national independence against every attempt to despoil us of this inestimable treasure, will meet the same approbation of every sound understanding, and exulting applauses from the heart of every faithful American.

I thank you, gentlemen, for your candid approbation of my sentiments on the subject of negotiation, and for the declaration of your opinion, that the policy of extending and invigorating our measures of defence, and the adopting with prudent foresight, such systematical measures as may be expedient for calling

forth the energies of our country whether on the ocean or on our own territory, will demand your most sedulous attention.

At the same time, I take the liberty to assure you, it shall be my vigilant endeavor, that no illusory professions shall seduce me into an abandonment of the rights which belong to the United States, as a free and independent nation.

JOHN ADAMS.

United States, December 14, 1798.

SIXTH CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION.

*THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH.**Gentlemen of the Sena'e, and**Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,*

IT is with peculiar satisfaction that I meet the sixth Congress of the United States of America.—Coming from all parts of the union, at this critical and interesting period, the members must be fully possessed of the sentiments and wishes of our constituents.

The flattering prospects of abundance, from the labours of the people, by land and by sea ; the prosperity of our extended commerce, notwithstanding interruptions occasioned by the belligerent state of a great part of the world ; the return of health, industry and trade, to those cities which have lately been afflicted with disease ; and the various and inestimable advantages, civil and religious, which, secured under our happy frame of government, are continued to us, unimpaired ; demand of the whole American people, sincere thanks to a benevolent Deity, for the merciful dispensations of his providence.

But while these numerous blessings are recollected, it is a painful duty to advert to the ungrateful return which has been made for them, by some of the people, in certain counties of Pennsylvania, where, seduced by the arts and misrepresentations of designing men, they have openly resisted the law directing the valuation of houses and lands. Such defiance was given to the civil authority as rendered hopeless all further attempts, by judicial process, to enforce the execution of the law ; and it became necessary to direct a military force to be employed, consisting of

some companies of regular troops, volunteers and militia, by whose zeal and activity, in co-operation with the judicial power, order and submission were restored, and many of the offenders arrested.—Of these, some have been convicted of misdemeanours; and others, charged with various crimes, remain to be tried.

To give due effect to the civil administration of government, and to ensure a just execution of the laws, a revision and amendment of the judiciary system is indispensibly necessary. In this extensive country it cannot but happen, that numerous questions respecting the interpretation of the laws and the rights and duties of officers and citizens, must arise. On the one hand, the law; should be executed; on the other, individuals should be guarded from oppression: Neither of these objects is sufficiently assured, under the present organization of the judicial department. I therefore earnestly recommend the subject to your serious consideration.

Persevering in the pacific and humane policy which had been invariably professed and sincerely pursued by the executive authority of the United States; when indications were made, on the part of the French Republic, of a disposition to accommodate the existing differences between the two countries, I felt it to be my duty to prepare for meeting their advances, by a nomination of ministers upon certain conditions, which the honor of our country dictated, and which its moderation had given it a right to prescribe. The assurances which were required of the French government, previous to the departure of our envoys, have been given, through their minister of foreign relations; and I have directed them to proceed on their mission to Paris. They have full power to conclude a treaty, subject to the constitutional advice and consent of the Senate. The characters of these gentlemen are sure pledges to their

country that nothing incompatible with its honor or interest, nothing inconsistent with our obligations of good faith or friendship to any other nation, will be stipulated,

It appearing probable, from the information I received, that our commercial intercourse with some ports in the island of St. Domingo, might safely be renewed, I took such steps as seemed to me expedient to ascertain that point: The result being satisfactory, I then, in conformity with the act of Congress on the subject, directed the restraints and prohibitions of that intercourse to be discontinued, on terms which were made known by proclamation. Since the renewal of this intercourse, our citizens trading to those ports, with their property, have been duly respected, and privateering from those ports has ceased.

In examining the claims of British subjects, by the commissioners at Philadelphia, acting under the sixth article of the treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation, with Great Britain, a difference of opinion, on points deemed essential, in the interpretation of that article,* has arisen between the commissioners appointed by the United States, and the other members of that board, from which the former have thought it their duty to withdraw. It is sincerely to be regretted that the execution of an article produced by a mutual spirit of amity and justice, should have been thus unavoidably interrupted. It is, however, confidently expected, that the same spirit of amity, and the same sense of justice in which it originated, will lead to satisfactory explanations. In consequence of the obstacles to the progress of the commission in Philadelphia, his Britannic Majesty has directed the commissioners, appointed by him, under the seventh article of the treaty, relating to British captures of American vessels, to withdraw from the board sitting in London: But with the ex-

press declaration of his determination, to fulfil, with punctuality and good faith, the engagements which his Majesty has contracted, by his treaty with the United States; and that they will be instructed to resume their functions, whenever the obstacles which impede the progress of the commission at Philadelphia shall be removed. It being, in like manner, my sincere determination, so far as the same depends on me, that, with equal punctuality and good faith, the engagements contracted by the United States in their treaties with his Britannic Majesty shall be fulfilled, I shall immediately instruct our minister at London to endeavour to obtain the explanations necessary to a just performance of those engagements, on the part of the United States. With such dispositions on both sides, I cannot entertain a doubt that all difficulties will soon be removed, and that the two boards will then proceed and bring the business committed to them respectively, to a satisfactory conclusion.

The act of Congress relative to the seat of the government of the United States, requiring that on the first Monday of December next, it should be transferred from Philadelphia, to the district chosen for its permanent seat, it is proper for me to inform you, that the commissioners appointed to provide suitable buildings, for the accommodation of Congress, and of the President, and for the public offices of the government, have made a report of the state of the buildings designed for those purposes in the city of Washington; from which they conclude, that the removal of the seat of government, to that place at the time required, will be practicable, and the accommodations satisfactory. Their report will be laid before you.

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

I shall direct the estimates of the appropriations necessary for the service of the ensuing year, together

with an account of the revenue and expenditure, to be laid before you. During a period, in which a great portion of the civilized world has been involved in a war unusually calamitous and destructive, it was not to be expected that the United States could be exempted from extraordinary burthens. Although the period is not arrived, when the measures adopted to secure our country against foreign attacks, can be renounced, yet it is alike necessary to the honor of the government and the satisfaction of the community, that an exact œconomy should be maintained. I invite you, gentlemen, to investigate the different branches of the public expenditure ; the examination will lead to beneficial retrenchments ; or produce a conviction of the wisdom of the measures to which the expenditure relates,

Gentlemen of the Senate, and

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

At a period like the present, when momentous changes are occurring, and every hour is preparing new and great events in the political world ; when a spirit of war is prevalent in almost every nation with whose affairs the interests of the United States have any connection, unsafe and precarious would be our situation, were we to neglect the means of maintaining our just rights. The result of the mission to France is uncertain ; but, however it may terminate, a steady perseverance in a system of national defence, commensurate with our resources, and the situation of our country, is an obvious dictate of wisdom : For, remotely as we are placed from the belligerent nations, and desirous as we are, by doing justice to all to avoid offence to any, nothing short of the power of repelling aggressions, will secure to our country a rational prospect of escaping the calamities of war, or national degradation. As to myself, it is my anxious desire, so to execute the trust reposed in

me, as to render the people of the United States prosperous and happy. I rely with entire confidence, on your co-operation in objects equally your care; and that our mutual labours will serve to increase and confirm union among our fellow citizens, and an unshaken attachment to our government.

JOHN ADAMS.

UNITED STATES,
December 3d, 1799.

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ANSWER OF THE SENATE.

ACCEPT, Sir, the respectful acknowledgments of the Senate of the United States for your Speech delivered to both houses of Congress at the opening of the present session.

While we devoutly join you in offering our thanks to Almighty God for the return of health to our cities, and for the general prosperity of the country; we cannot refrain from lamenting that the arts and calumnies of factious designing men have excited open rebellion a second time in Pennsylvania; and thereby compelled the employment of a military force to aid the civil authority in the execution of the laws. We rejoice that your vigilance, energy and well-timed exertions have crushed so daring an opposition, and prevented the spreading of such treasonable combinations. The promptitude and zeal displayed by the troops called to suppress this insurrection, deserve our highest commendation and praise, and afford a pleasing proof of the spirit and alacrity with which our fellow-citizens are ready to maintain the authority of our excellent government.

Knowing as we do, that the United States are sincerely anxious for a fair and liberal execution of the treaty of amity, commerce and navigation, entered

into with Great-Britain, we learn with regret that the progress of adjustment has been interrupted by a difference of opinion among the Commissioners. We hope, however, that the justice, the moderation and the obvious interests of both parties will lead to satisfactory explanations, and that the business will then go forward to an amicable close of all differences and demands between the two countries. We are fully persuaded that the Legislature of the United States will cheerfully enable you to realize your assurances of performing on our part, all engagements under our treaties with punctuality, and the most scrupulous good faith.

When we reflect upon the uncertainty of the result of the late mission to France ; and upon the uncommon nature, extent and aspect of the war now raging in Europe, which affects materially our relations with the powers at war, and which has changed the condition of their colonies in our neighbourhood ; we are of opinion with you, that it would be neither wise nor safe to relax our measures of defence, or to lessen any of our preparations to repel aggression.

Our enquiries and attention shall be carefully directed to the various other important subjects which you have recommended to our consideration ; and from our experience of your past administration, we anticipate with the highest confidence your strenuous co-operation in all measures which have a tendency to promote and extend our national interests and happiness.

SAMUEL LIVERMORE,
President of the Senate pro tempore.

THE PRESIDENT'S REPLY.

GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE,

I THANK you for this address. I wish you all possible success and satisfaction, in your delibe-

rations on the means which have a tendency to promote and extend our national interests and happiness; and I assure you, that in all your measures directed to those great objects, you may at all times rely with the highest confidence on my cordial co-operation.

The praise of the Senate, so judiciously conferred on the promptitude and zeal of the troops called to suppress the insurrection, as it falls from so high authority, must make a deep impression, both as a terror to the disobedient, and an encouragement of such as do well.

JOHN ADAMS.

United States, Dec. 10, 1799.

ANSWER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

SIR,

WHILE the House of Representatives contemplate the flattering prospects of abundance from the labors of the people by land and by sea, the prosperity of our extended commerce, notwithstanding interruptions occasioned by the belligerent state of a great part of the world; the return of health, industry, and trade to those cities which have lately been afflicted with disease, and the various and inestimable advantages, civil and religious, which, secured under our happy frame of government, are continued to us unimpaired, we cannot fail to offer up to a benevolent Deity our sincere thanks, for these, the merciful dispensations of his protecting providence.

That any portion of the people of America should permit themselves, amidst such numerous blessings, to be seduced by the arts and misrepresentations of designing men, into an open resistance of a law of the United States, cannot be heard without deep and

serious regret. Under a constitution where the public burthens can only be imposed by the people themselves, for their own benefit, and to promote their own objects, a hope might well have been indulged that the general interest would have been too well understood, and the general welfare too highly prized, to have produced in any of our citizens a disposition to hazard so much felicity, by the criminal effort of a part, to oppose with lawless violence the will of the whole. While we lament that depravity which could produce a defiance of the civil authority, and render indispensable the aid of the military force of the nation, real consolation is to be derived from the promptness and fidelity with which that aid was afforded. That zealous and active co-operation with the judicial power, of the volunteers and militia called into service, which has restored order and submission to the laws, is a pleasing evidence of the attachment of our fellow citizens to their own free government, and of the truly patriotic alacrity with which they will support it.

To give due effect to the civil administration of government, and to ensure a just execution of the laws, are objects of such real magnitude as to secure a proper attention to your recommendation of a revision and amendment of the judicial system.

Highly approving, as we do, the pacific and humane policy which has been invariably professed, and sincerely pursued by the Executive authority of the United States, a policy which our best interests enjoined, and of which honor has permitted the observance, we consider as the most unequivocal proof of your inflexible perseverance in the same well chosen system, your preparation to meet the first indications on the part of the French Republic, of a disposition to accommodate the existing differences between the two countries, by a nomination of Ministers on certain conditions, which the honor of our

country unquestionably dictated, and which its moderation had certainly given it a right to prescribe. When the assurances thus required of the French government, previous to the departure of our Envoys, had been given through their Minister of foreign relations, the direction that they should proceed on their mission, was, on your part, a completion of the measure, and manifests the sincerity with which it was commenced. We offer up our fervent prayers to the Supreme Ruler of the universe for the success of their embassy, and that it may be productive of peace and happiness to our common country. The uniform tenor of your conduct through a life useful to your fellow-citizens and honorable to yourself, gives a sure pledge of the sincerity with which the avowed objects of the negotiation will be pursued on your part, and we earnestly pray that similar dispositions may be displayed on the part of France. The differences which unfortunately subsist between the two nations cannot fail, in that event, to be happily terminated. To produce this end, to all so desirable, firmness, moderation, and union at home, constitute, we are persuaded, the surest means. The character of the gentlemen you have deputed, and still more, the character of the government which deposes them, are safe pledges to their country, that nothing incompatible with its honor or interest, nothing inconsistent with our obligations of good faith or friendship to any other nation, will be stipulated.

We learn, with pleasure, that our citizens with their property trading to those ports of St. Domingo with which commercial intercourse has been renewed, have been duly respected, and that privateering from those ports has ceased.

With you we sincerely regret that the execution of the VIth article of the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation with Great-Britain, an article pro-

duced by a mutual spirit of amity and justice, should have been unavoidably interrupted. We doubt not, that the same spirit of amity, and the same sense of justice in which it originated, will lead to satisfactory explanations: and we hear with approbation, that our Minister at London will be immediately instructed to obtain them. While the engagements which America has contracted by her treaty with Great-Britain, ought to be fulfilled with that scrupulous punctuality and good faith to which our government has ever so tenaciously adhered; yet no motive exists to induce, and every principle forbids us to adopt a construction which might extend them beyond the instrument by which they are created. We cherish the hope that the government of Great-Britain will disclaim such extension, and by cordially uniting, with that of the United States, for the removal of all difficulties, will soon enable the boards appointed under the VIth and VIIth articles of our treaty with that nation, to proceed, and bring the business committed to them respectively, to a satisfactory conclusion.

The buildings for the accommodation of Congress, and of the President, and for the public offices of the government at its permanent seat, being in such a state as to admit of a removal to that district by the time prescribed by the act of Congress, no obstacle, it is presumed, will exist to a compliance with the law. With you, sir, we deem the present period critical and momentous. The important changes which are occurring, the new and great events which are every hour preparing in the political world, the spirit of war which is prevalent in almost every nation with whose affairs the interests of the United States have any connection, demonstrate how unsafe and precarious would be our situation, should we neglect the means of maintaining our just rights. Respecting, as we have ever done, the rights of others, America

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estimates too correctly the value of her own, and has received evidence too complete, that they are only to be preserved by her own vigilance, ever to permit herself to be seduced by a love of ease or by other considerations, into that deadly disregard of the means of self defence, which could only result from a carelessness as criminal as it would be fatal, concerning the future destinies of our growing republic. The result of the mission to France is, indeed sir, uncertain. It depends not on America alone. The most pacific temper will not always insure peace. We should therefore exhibit a system of conduct as indiscreet as it would be new in the history of the world, if we considered the negociation happily terminated, because we have attempted to commence it, and peace restored, because we wish its restoration. But, sir, however this mission may terminate, a steady perseverance in a system of national defence, commensurate with our resources, and the situation of our country, is an obvious dictate of duty. Experience, the parent of wisdom, and the great instructor of nations, has established the truth of your position, that, remotely as we are placed from the belligerent nations, and desirous as we are, by doing justice to all, to avoid offence to any, yet nothing short of the power of repelling aggressions will secure to our country a rational prospect of escaping the calamities of war or national dégradation.

In the progress of the session, we shall take into our serious consideration the various and important matters recommended to our attention.

A life devoted to the service of your country, talents and integrity which have so justly acquired and so long retained the confidence and affection of your fellow citizens, attest the sincerity of your declaration, that it is your anxious desire so to execute the trust reposed in you as to render the people of the United States prosperous and happy.

THE PRESIDENT'S REPLY.

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

THIS very respectful address, from the Representatives of the people of the United States, at their first assembly, after a fresh election, under the strong impression of the public opinion and national sense, at this interesting and singular crisis of our public affairs, has excited my sensibility, and receives my sincere and grateful acknowledgments.

As long as we can maintain, with harmony and affection, the honour of our country, consistently with its peace, externally and internally, while that is attainable; or in war, when that becomes necessary, assert its real independence and sovereignty, and support the constitutional energies and dignity of its government, we may be perfectly sure, under the smiles of Divine Providence, that we shall effectually promote and extend our national interest and happiness.

The applause of the Senate and House of Representatives, so justly bestowed upon the volunteers and militia, for their zealous and active co-operation with the judicial power, which has restored order and submission to the laws, as it comes with peculiar weight and propriety from the legislature, cannot fail to have an extensive and permanent effect, for the support of government, upon all those ingenious minds who receive delight from the approving and animating voice of their country.

JOHN ADAMS.

United States Dec. 10, 1799.

SIXTH CONGRESS—SECOND SESSION.

 THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH.

Gentlemen of the Senate, and

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

IMMEDIATELY after the adjournment of Congress at their last session in Philadelphia, I gave directions, in compliance with the laws, for the removal of the public offices, records and property : These directions have been executed, and the public officers have since resided and conducted the ordinary business of the government, in this place.

I congratulate the people of the United States on the assembling of Congress at the permanent seat of their government ; and I congratulate you, gentlemen, on the prospect of a residence not to be changed. Although there is cause to apprehend that accommodations are not now so complete as might be wished, yet there is great reason to believe that this inconvenience will cease with the present session.

It would be unbecoming the Representatives of this nation to assemble, for the first time, in this solemn temple, without looking up to the Supreme Ruler of the Universe, and imploring his blessing.

May this territory be the residence of virtue and happiness !—In this city may that piety and virtue, that wisdom and magnanimity, that constancy and self-government which adorned the great character whose name it bears, be forever held in veneration !—Here, and throughout our country, may simple manners, pure morals, and true religion, flourish forever !

It is with you, gentlemen, to consider whether the local powers over the district of Columbia, vested by the constitution in the Congress of the United

States, shall be immediately exercised : If, in your opinion, this important trust ought now to be executed, you cannot fail, while performing it, to take into view the future probable situation of the territory, for the happiness of which you are about to provide. You will consider it as the capital of a great nation, advancing, with unexampled rapidity, in arts, in commerce, in wealth and in population ; and possessing within itself those energies and resources, which, if not thrown away or lamentably misdirected, will secure to it a long course of prosperity and self-government.

In compliance with a law of the last session of Congress, the officers and soldiers of the temporary army have been discharged. It affords real pleasure to recollect the honorable testimony they gave of the patriotic motives which brought them into the service of their country, by the readiness and regularity with which they returned to the station of private citizens.

It is in every point of view of such primary importance to carry the laws into prompt and faithful execution, and to render that part of the administration of justice, which the constitution and laws devolve on the federal courts, as convenient to the people as may consist with their present circumstances, that I cannot omit, once more, to recommend to your serious consideration, the judiciary system of the United States. No subject is more interesting than this to the public happiness, and to none can those improvements, which may have been suggested by experience, be more beneficially applied.

A treaty of amity and commerce with the king of Prussia, has been concluded and ratified. The ratifications have been exchanged, and I have directed the treaty to be promulgated by proclamation.

The difficulties which suspended the execution of the sixth article of our treaty of amity, commerce

and navigation with Great Britain, have not yet been removed. The negotiation on this subject is still depending. As it must be for the interest and honor of both nations to adjust this difference with good faith, I indulge confidently the expectation that the sincere endeavours of the government of the United States, to bring it to an amicable termination, will not be disappointed.

The envoys extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary from the United States to France, were received by the first consul, with the respect due to their character; and three persons, with equal powers, were appointed to treat with them. Although at the date of the last official intelligence, the negotiation had not terminated, yet it is to be hoped that our efforts to effect an accommodation, will at length meet with a success proportioned to the sincerity with which they have been so often repeated.

While our best endeavours for the preservation of harmony with all nations, will continue to be used, the experience of the world; our own experience admonish us, of the insecurity of trusting too confidently to their success. We cannot, without committing a dangerous imprudence, abandon those measures of self-protection which are adapted to our situation, and to which, notwithstanding our pacific policy, the violence and injustice of others may again compel us to resort. While our vast extent of sea-coast, the commercial and agricultural habits of our people, the great capital they will continue to trust on the ocean, suggest the system of defence which will be most beneficial to ourselves, our distance from Europe and our resources for maritime strength, will enable us to employ it with effect. Seasonable and systematic arrangements, so far as our resources will justify, for a navy, adapted to defensive war, and which may, in case of necessity, be quickly brought into use, seem to be as much re-

commended by a wise and true economy as by a just regard for our future tranquility; for the safety of our shores, and for the protection of our property committed to the ocean.

The present navy of the United States, called suddenly into existence, by a great national exigency, has raised us in our own esteem; and by the protection afforded to our commerce, has effected, to the extent of our expectations, the objects for which it was created.

In connection with a navy ought to be contemplated the fortification of some of our principal sea-ports and harbours. A variety of considerations, which will readily suggest themselves, urge an attention to this measure of precaution. To give security to our principal ports, considerable sums have already been expended, but the works remain incomplete. It is for Congress to determine whether additional appropriations shall be made, in order to render competent, to the intended purposes, the fortifications which have been commenced.

The manufacture of arms within the United States, still invites the attention of the national legislature. At a considerable expence to the public, this manufactory has been brought to such a state of maturity, as with continued encouragement, will supercede the necessity of future importations from foreign countries.

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

I SHALL direct the estimates of the appropriations necessary for the ensuing year, together with an account of the public revenue and expenditure, to a late period, to be laid before you. I observe with much satisfaction that the product of the revenue during the present year, has been more considerable, than during any former equal period. This result affords conclusive evidence of the great re-

sources of this country, and of the wisdom and efficiency of the measures which have been adopted by Congress, for the protection of commerce and preservation of public credit.

Gentlemen of the Senate, and

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

As one of the grand community of nations, our attention is irresistibly drawn to the important scenes which surround us. If they have exhibited an uncommon portion of calamity, it is the province of humanity to deplore, and of wisdom to avoid, the causes which may have produced it. If turning our eyes homeward, we find reason to rejoice at the prospect which presents itself; if we perceive the interior of our country prosperous, free and happy; if all enjoy in safety, under the protection of laws, emanating only from the general will, the fruits of their own labour, we ought to fortify and cling to those institutions which have been the source of such real felicity; and resist, with unabating perseverance, the progress of those dangerous innovations which may diminish their influence.

To your patriotism, gentlemen, has been confided the honorable duty of guarding the public interests; and while the past is to your country a sure pledge that it will be faithfully discharged, permit me to assure you that your labours to promote the general happiness, will receive from me the most zealous co-operation.

JOHN ADAMS.

UNITED STATES, }
November 22d, 1800. }

ANSWER OF THE SENATE.

SIR,

IMPRESSED with the important truth, that the hearts of rulers and people are in the hand of

the Almighty : the Senate of the United States most cordially join in your invocations for appropriate blessings upon the government and people of this Union.

We meet you, sir, and the other branch of the National Legislature, in the city, which is honored by the name of our late hero and sage, *the illustrious* Washington, with sensations and emotions, which exceed our power of description.

While we congratulate ourselves on the convention of the Legislature at the permanent seat of government, and ardently hope that permanence and stability may be communicated as well to the government itself, as to its seat ; our minds are irresistibly led to deplore the death of him, who bore so honorable and efficient a part in the establishment of both. Great indeed would have been our gratification, if his sum of earthly happiness had been completed, by seeing the government thus peaceably convened at this place : but we derive consolation from a belief that the *moment* in which we were destined to experience the loss we deplore, was fixed by that Being whose counsels cannot err ; and from a hope, that since in this seat of government which bears his name, his earthly remains will be deposited ; the Members of Congress, and all who inhabit the city, with these memorials before them, will retain his virtues in lively recollection, and make his patriotism, morals and piety, models for imitation. And permit us to add, sir, that it is not among the least of our consolations, that you, who have been his companion and friend, from the dawning of our national existence, and trained in the same school of exertion to effect our independence, are still preserved, by a gracious providence, in health and activity, to exercise the functions of Chief Magistrate.

sources of this country, and of the wisdom and efficiency of the measures which have been adopted by Congress, for the protection of commerce and preservation of public credit.

Gentlemen of the Senate, and

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

As one of the grand community of nations, our attention is irresistibly drawn to the important scenes which surround us. If they have exhibited an uncommon portion of calamity, it is the province of humanity to deplore, and of wisdom to avoid, the causes which may have produced it. If turning our eyes homeward, we find reason to rejoice at the prospect which presents itself; if we perceive the interior of our country prosperous, free and happy; if all enjoy in safety, under the protection of laws, emanating only from the general will, the fruits of their own labour, we ought to fortify and cling to those institutions which have been the source of such real felicity; and resist, with unabating perseverance, the progress of those dangerous innovations which may diminish their influence.

To your patriotism, gentlemen, have I confidently confided the honorable duty of guarding the interests; and while the past is to your credit, I am pledged that it will be faithfully discharged. I come to assure you that your labours for the general happiness, will receive the most zealous co-operation.

UNITED STATES
November

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The question whether the local powers over the district of Columbia, vested by the constitution in the Congress of the United States, shall be immediately exercised, is of great importance, and in deliberating upon it, we shall naturally be led to weigh the attending circumstances and every probable consequence of the measures which may be proposed.

The several subjects for legislative consideration, contained in your speech to both Houses of Congress, shall receive from the Senate all the attention which they can give, when contemplating those objects both in respect to their national importance, and the additional weight that is given them by your recommendation.

We deprecate with you, sir, all spirit of innovation from whatever quarter it may arise, which may impair the sacred bond that connects the different parts of this empire; and we trust, that under the protection of divine providence, the wisdom and virtue of the citizens of the United States will deliver our national compact unimpaired to a grateful posterity.

From past experience, it is impossible for the Senate of the United States to doubt of your zealous co-operation with the legislature in every effort to promote the general happiness and tranquillity of the union.

Accept, sir, our warmest wishes for your health and happiness.

JOHN E. HOWARD,
President of the Senate pro-tempore.

THE PRESIDENT'S REPLY.

Mr. President and gentlemen of the Senate,

FOR this excellent address, so respectful to the memory of my illustrious predecessor, which I

receive from the Senate of the United States, at this time, and in this place, with peculiar satisfaction, I pray you to accept of my unfeigned acknowledgments. With you I ardently hope, that permanence and stability will be communicated as well to the government itself, as to its beautiful and commodious seat. With you, I deplore the death of that hero and sage, who bore so honorable and efficient a part in the establishment of both. Great indeed would have been my gratification, if his sum of earthly happiness had been completed by seeing the government thus peaceably convened at this place, himself at its head. But while we submit to the decisions of heaven, whose councils are inscrutable to us, we cannot but hope, that the members of Congress, the officers of government, and all who inhabit the city or the country, will retain his virtues in lively recollection, and make his patriotism, morals and piety, models for imitation.

I thank you, gentlemen, for your assurance that the several subject for legislative consideration, recommended in my communication to both Houses, shall receive from the Senate, a deliberate and candid attention.

With you, gentlemen, I sincerely deprecate all spirit of innovation, which may weaken the sacred bond that connects the different parts of this nation and government ; and with you I trust, that under the protection of divine providence, the wisdom and virtue of our citizens, will deliver our national compact unimpaired, to a free, prosperous, happy and grateful posterity. To this end it is my fervent prayer, that in this city, the foundations of wisdom may be always open, and the streams of eloquence forever flow. Here may the youth of this extensive country, forever look up without disappointment, not only to the monuments and memorials of the dead, but to the examples of the living, in the mem-

bers of Congress and officers of government, for finished models of all those virtues, graces, talents and accomplishments, which constitute the dignity of human nature, and lay the only foundation for the prosperity or duration of empires.

JOHN ADAMS.

City of Washington, }
November 26th, 1800. }

ANSWER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

SIR,

THE House of Representatives have received with great respect, the communication which you have been pleased to make to the two Houses of Congress, at the commencement of the present session.

The final establishment of the seat of national government, which has now taken place, within the District of Columbia, is an event of no small importance in the political transactions of our country ; and we cordially unite our wishes with yours, that this territory may be the residence of happiness and virtue.

Nor can we, on this occasion omit to express a hope, that the spirit which animated the great founder of this city, may descend to future generations, and that the wisdom, magnanimity and steadiness which marked the events of his public life, may be imitated in all succeeding ages.

A consideration of those powers which have been vested in Congress over the District of Columbia, will not escape our attention ; nor shall we forget, that in exercising these powers, a regard must be had to those events, which will necessarily attend the capital of America.

The cheerfulness and regularity with which the officers and soldiers of the temporary army have re-

turned to the condition of private citizens, is a testimony, clear and conclusive, of the purity of those motives, which induced them to engage in the public service ; and will remain a proof on all future occasions, that an army of soldiers, drawn from the citizens of our country, deserve our confidence and respect.

No subject can be more important than that of the judiciary, which you have again recommended to our consideration, and it shall receive our early and deliberate attention.

The constitution of the United States having confided the management of our foreign negotiations to the controul of the executive power, we cheerfully submit to its decisions on this important subject. And in respect to the negotiations, now pending with France, we sincerely hope that the final result may prove as fortunate to our country, as the most ardent mind can wish.

So long as a predatory war is carried on against our commerce, we should sacrifice the interests, and disappoint the expectations of our constituents, should we for a moment, relax that system of maritime defence, which has resulted in such beneficial effects. At this period it is confidently believed, that few persons can be found within the United States, who do not admit, that a navy, well organized, must constitute the natural and efficient defence of this country against all foreign hostility.

The progress which has been made in the manufacture of arms, leaves no doubt that the public patronage has already placed this country beyond all necessary dependence on foreign markets, for an article so indispensable for defence ; and gives us assurances, that under the encouragement which government will continue to extend to this important object, we shall soon rival foreign countries, not only in the number, but in the quality of arms, completed from our own manufactories.

Few events could have been more pleasing to our constituents, than that great and rapid increase of revenue, which has arisen from permanent taxes. Whilst this event explains the great and increasing resources of our country, it carries along with it a proof which cannot be resisted, that those measures of maritime defence, which were calculated to meet our enemy upon the ocean, and which have produced such extensive protection to our commerce, were founded in wisdom and policy. The mind must in our opinion, be insensible to the plainest truths, which cannot discern the elevated ground on which this policy has placed our country. That national spirit, which alone could vindicate our common rights, has been roused, and those latent energies, which had not been fully known, were unfolded and brought into view, and our fellow-citizens were prepared to meet every event, which national honor or national security could render necessary. Nor have its effects been much less important in other respects. Whilst many of the nations of the earth have been impoverished and depopulated, by internal commotions, and national contests, our internal peace has not been materially impaired—our commerce has extended, under the protection of our infant navy, to every part of the globe—wealth has flowed without intermission into our seaports, and the labours of the husbandman have been rewarded by a ready market for the productions of the soil.

Be assured, sir, that the various and important subjects, recommended to our consideration, shall receive our early and deliberate attention, and confident of your co-operation in every measure which may be calculated to promote the general interest, we shall endeavor on our part, to testify by our industry and dispatch, the zeal and sincerity with which we regard the public good.

THE PRESIDENT'S REPLY.

*Mr. Speaker, and
Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,*

COMPELLED by the habits of a long life, as well as by all the principles of society and government, which I could ever understand and believe, to consider the great body of the people as the source of all legitimate authority, no less than of all efficient power, it is impossible for me to receive this address from the immediate representatives of the American people, at this time and in this place, without emotions which it would be improper to express, if any language could convey them.

May the spirit, which animated the great founder of this city, descend to future generations, and may the wisdom, magnanimity and steadiness, which marked the events of his public life, be imitated in all succeeding ages.

I thank you, gentlemen, for your assurance, that the judiciary system shall receive your deliberate attention.

With you, gentlemen, I sincerely hope, that the final result of the negotiations, now pending with France, may prove as fortunate to our country, as they have been commenced with sincerity, and prosecuted with deliberation and caution. With you I cordially agree, that so long as a predatory war is carried on against our commerce, we should sacrifice the interests and disappoint the expectations of our constituents, should we for a moment relax that system of maritime defence, which has resulted in such beneficial effects. With you I confidently believe, that few persons are to be found within the United States, who do not admit, that a navy, well organized, must constitute the natural and efficient defence of this country against all foreign hostility.

Those who recollect the distress and dangers to this country, in former periods, from the want of arms, must exult in the assurance, from their representatives, that we shall soon rival foreign countries, not only in the number, but in the quality of arms, completed from our own manufactories.

With you, gentlemen, I fully agree that the great increase of revenue is a proof that the measures of maritime defence were founded in wisdom. This policy has raised us in the esteem of foreign nations. That national spirit and those latent energies, which had not been and are not yet fully known to any, were not entirely forgotten by those, who had lived long enough to see in former times, their operation and some of their effects : Our fellow-citizens were undoubtedly prepared to meet every event, which national honor or national security could render necessary. These, it is to be hoped, are secured at the cheapest and easiest rate. If not, they will be secured at more expence.

I thank you, gentlemen, for your assurance, that the various subjects, recommended to your consideration, shall receive your deliberate attention. No farther evidence is wanting to convince me of the zeal and sincerity, with which the house of representatives regard the public good.

I pray you, gentlemen, to accept of my best wishes for your health and happiness.

JOHN ADAMS.

Washington, November 27, 1800.

SEVENTH CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION:

 THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

*Fellow Citizens of the Senate,
and of the House of Representatives,*

IT is a circumstance of sincere gratification to me, that on meeting the great council of the nation, I am able to announce to them on grounds of reasonable certainty, that the wars and troubles, which have for so many years afflicted our sister nations, have at length come to an end; and that the communications of peace and commerce are once more opening among them. Whilst we devoutly return thanks to the beneficent Being who has been pleased to breathe into them the spirit of conciliation and forgiveness, we are bound, with peculiar gratitude, to be thankful to him that our own peace has been preserved through so perilous a season, and ourselves permitted quietly to cultivate the earth, and to practise and improve those arts which tend to increase our comforts. The assurances indeed of friendly disposition received from all the powers with whom we have principal relations, had inspired a confidence that our peace with them would not have been disturbed. But a cessation of the irregularities which had afflicted the commerce of neutral nations, and of the irritations and injuries produced by them, cannot but add to this confidence; and strengthens at the same time, the hope that wrongs committed on unoffending friends, under a pressure of circumstances, will now be reviewed with candor, and will be considered as founding just claims of retribution for the past, and new assurance for the future.

Among our Indian neighbors also a spirit of peace and friendship generally prevails; and I am happy

to inform you that the continued efforts to introduce among them the implements and the practice of husbandry, and of the household arts, have not been without success : That they are become more and more sensible of the superiority of this dependence for clothing and subsistence, over the precarious resources of hunting and fishing : And already we are able to announce that, instead of that constant diminution of numbers produced by their wars and their wants, some of them begin to experience an increase of population.

To this state of general peace with which we have been blessed, one only exception exists. Tripoli, the least considerable of the Barbary states, had come forward with demands unfounded either in right or in compact, and had permitted itself to denounce war, on our failure to comply before a given day. The style of the demand admitted but one answer. I sent a small squadron of frigates into the Mediterranean, with assurances to that power of our sincere desire to remain in peace ; but with orders to protect our commerce against the threatened attack. The measure was seasonable and salutary. The Bey had already declared war in form. His cruisers were out. Two had arrived at Gibraltar. Our commerce in the Mediterranean was blockaded ; and that of the Atlantic in peril. The arrival of our squadron dispelled the danger. One of the Tripolitan cruisers having fallen in with and engaged the small schooner *Enterprize*, commanded by Lieutenant Sterret, which had gone out as a tender to our larger vessels, was captured, after a heavy slaughter of her men, without the loss of a single one on our part. The bravery exhibited by our citizens on that element will, I trust, be a testimony to the world, that it is not a want of that virtue which makes us seek their peace ; but a conscientious desire to direct the energies of our nation to the multiplication of the human race ;

and not to its destruction. Unauthorized by the constitution, without the sanction of Congress, to go beyond the line of defence, the vessel being disabled from committing further hostilities, was liberated, with its crew. The legislature will doubtless consider whether, by authorizing measures of offence also, they will place our force on an equal footing with that of its adversaries. I communicate all material information on this subject, that in the exercise of the important function, confided by the constitution to the legislature exclusively, their judgment may form itself on a knowledge and consideration of every circumstance of weight.

I wish I could say that our situation with all the other Barbary States was entirely satisfactory. Discovering that some delays had taken place in the performance of certain articles stipulated by us, I thought it my duty, by immediate measures for fulfilling them, to vindicate to ourselves the right of considering the effect of departure from stipulation on their side. From the papers which will be laid before you, you will be enabled to judge whether our treaties are regarded by them as fixing at all the measure of their demands, or as guarding against the exercise of force our vessels within their power; and to consider how far it will be safe and expedient to leave our affairs with them in their present posture.

I lay before you the result of the census lately taken of our inhabitants, to a conformity with which we are to reduce the ensuing rates of representation and taxation. You will perceive that the increase of numbers, during the last ten years, proceeding in geometrical ratio, promises a duplication in little more than twenty-two years. We contemplate this rapid growth, and the prospect it holds up to us, not with a view to the injuries it may enable us to do to others in some future day, but to the settlement of the extensive country still remaining vacant within

our limits, to the multiplication of men susceptible of happiness, educated in the love of order, habituated to self-government, and valuing its blessings above all price.

Other circumstances combined with the increase of numbers, have produced an augmentation of revenue arising from consumption, in a ratio far beyond that of population alone; and though the changes in foreign relations, now taking place so desirably for the whole world, may for a season affect this branch of revenue, yet, weighing all probabilities of expence, as well as of income, there is reasonable ground of confidence, that we may now safely dispense with all the internal taxes, comprehending excises, stamps, auctions, licences, carriages and refined sugars; to which the postage on newspapers may be added to facilitate the progress of information; and that the remaining sources of revenue will be sufficient to provide for the support of government, to pay the interest of the public debts, and to discharge the principals in shorter periods than the laws, or the general expectation had contemplated. War, indeed, and untoward events may change this prospect of things, and call for expences which the imposts could not meet. But sound principles will not justify our taxing the industry of our fellow citizens to accumulate treasure for wars to happen we know not when, and which might not perhaps happen, but from the temptations offered by that treasure.

These views, however, of reducing our burthens, are formed on the expectation that a sensible, and at the same time, a salutary reduction may take place in our habitual expenditures. For this purpose, those of the civil government, the army and navy, will need revisal. When we consider that this government is charged with the external and mutual relations only of these states; that the states them-

selves have principal care of our persons, our property and our reputation ; constituting the great field of human concerns, we may well doubt whether our organization is not too complicated, too expensive ; whether offices and officers have not been multiplied unnecessarily, and sometimes injuriously to the service they were meant to promote. I will cause to be laid before you an essay towards a statement of those who, under public employment of various kinds, draw money from the treasury, or from our citizens. Time has not permitted a perfect enumeration, the ramifications of office being too multiplied and remote to be completely traced in a first trial.—Among those who are dependent on executive discretion, I have begun the reduction of what was deemed unnecessary. The expences of diplomatic agency have been considerably diminished. The inspectors of internal revenue, who were found to obstruct the accountability of the institution, have been discontinued.—Several agencies, created by executive authority, on salaries fixed by that also, have been suppressed, and should suggest the expediency of regulating that power by law, so as to subject its exercises to legislative inspection and sanction. Other reformatations of the same kind will be pursued with that caution which is requisite in removing useless things, not to injure what is retained. But the great mass of public offices is established by law, and therefore by law alone can be abolished. Should the legislature think it expedient to pass this roll in review, and to try all its parts by the test of public utility, they may be assured of every aid and light which executive information can yield. Considering the general tendency to multiply offices and dependencies, and to increase expence to the ultimate term of burthen which the citizen can bear, it behoves us to avail ourselves of every occasion which presents itself for taking off the surcharge ; that it never may

be seen here that, after leaving to labour the smallest portion of its earnings on which it can subsist, government shall itself consume the residue of what it was instituted to guard.

In our care too of the public contributions entrusted to our direction, it would be prudent to multiply barriers against their dissipation, by appropriating specific sums to every specific purpose susceptible of definition ; by disallowing all applications of money varying from the appropriation in object or transcending it in amount ; by reducing the undefined field of contingencies, and thereby circumscribing discretionary powers over money ; and by bringing back to a single department all accountabilities for money, where the examination may be prompt, efficacious and uniform.

An account of the receipts and expenditures of the last year, as prepared by the secretary of the treasury, will, as usual, be laid before you. The success which has attended the late sales of the public lands shews that, with attention, they may be made an important source of receipt. Among the payments, those made in discharge of the principal and interest of the national debt, will shew that the public faith has been exactly maintained. To these will be added an estimate of appropriations necessary for the ensuing year. This last will of course be affected by such modifications of the system of expence as you shall think proper to adopt.

A statement has been formed by the secretary at war, on mature consideration, of all the posts and stations where garrisons will be expedient, and of the number of men requisite for each garrison. The whole amount is considerably short of the present military establishment. For the surplus no particular use can be pointed out. For defence against invasion, their number is as nothing ; nor is it considered needful or safe that a standing army should be

kept up, in time of peace, for that purpose. Uncertain as we must ever be of the particular point in our circumference where an enemy may chuse to invade us, the only force which can be ready at every point, and competent to oppose them, is the body of neighboring citizens, as formed into a militia. On these, collected from the parts most convenient, in numbers proportioned to the invading force, it is best to rely not only to meet the first attack, but if it threatens to be permanent, to maintain the defence until regulars may be engaged to relieve them. These considerations render it important that we should, at every session, continue to amend the defects, which from time to time shew themselves, in the laws for regulating the militia, until they are sufficiently perfect: nor should we now, or at any time, separate, until we can say we have done every thing for the militia, which we could do, were an enemy at our door.

The provision of military stores on hand will be laid before you, that you may judge of the additions still requisite.

With respect to the extent to which our naval preparations should be carried, some difference of opinion may be expected to appear: but just attention to the circumstances of every part of the union will doubtless reconcile all. A small force will probably continue to be wanted, for actual service, in the Mediterranean. Whatever annual sum beyond that you may think proper to appropriate to naval preparations, would perhaps be better employed in providing those articles which may be kept without waste or consumption, and be in readiness when any exigence calls them into use. Progress has been made, as will appear by papers now communicated, in providing materials for seventy-four-gun ships as directed by law.

How far the authority given by the Legislature for procuring and establishing sites for naval purposes, has been perfectly understood and pursued in the execution, admits of some doubt. A statement of the expences already incurred on that subject shall be laid before you. I have in certain cases, suspended or slackened these expenditures, that the Legislature might determine whether so many yards are necessary as have been contemplated. The works at this place are among those permitted to go on : and five of the seven frigates directed to be laid up, have been brought and laid up here, where, besides the safety of their position, they are under the eye of the Executive administration, as well as of its agents, and where yourselves also will be guided by your own view, in the legislative provisions respecting them, which may from time to time be necessary. They are preserved in such condition, as well the vessels as whatever belongs to them, as to be at all times ready for sea on a short warning. Two others are yet to be laid up, so soon as they shall have received the repairs requisite to put them also into sound condition. As a superintending officer will be necessary at each yard, his duties and emoluments, hitherto fixed by the Executive, will be a more proper subject for legislation. A communication will also be made of our progress in the execution of the law respecting the vessels directed to be sold.

The fortifications of our harbours, more or less advanced, present considerations of great difficulty. While some of them are on a scale sufficiently proportioned to the advantages of their position, to the efficacy of their protection, and the importance of the points within it, others are so extensive, will cost so much in their first erection, so must in their maintenance, and require such a force to garrison them, as to make it questionable what is best now to be done. A statement of those commenced or project-

ed, of the expences already incurred, and estimates of their future cost, as far as can be foreseen, shall be laid before you, that you may be enabled to judge whether any alteration is necessary in the laws respecting this subject.

Agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and navigation, the four pillars of our prosperity, are then most thriving, when left most free to individual enterprize. Protection from casual embarrassments, however, may sometimes be seasonably interposed. If in the course of your observations or enquiries, they should appear to need any aid, within the limits of our constitutional powers, your sense of their importance is a sufficient assurance they will occupy your attention. We cannot, indeed, but all feel an anxious solicitude for the difficulties under which our carrying trade will soon be placed. How far it can be relieved, otherwise than by time, is a subject of important consideration.

The judiciary system of the United States; and especially that portion of it recently erected, will of course present itself to the contemplation of Congress; and that they may be able to judge of the proportion which the institution bears to the business it has to perform, I have caused to be procured from the several states, and now lay before Congress, an exact statement of all the causes decided since the first establishment of the courts, and of those which were depending when additional courts and judges were brought in to their aid.

And while on the judiciary organization, it will be worthy your consideration whether the protection of the inestimable institution of juries has been extended to all the cases involving the security of our persons and property. Their impartial selection also being essential to their value, we ought further to consider whether that is sufficiently secured in those states, where they are named by a marshal depending

on executive will, or designated by the court, or by officers dependent on them.

I cannot omit recommending a revisal of the laws on the subject of naturalization. Considering the ordinary chances of human life, a denial of citizenship under a residence of fourteen years is a denial to a great proportion of those who ask it ; and controls a policy pursued, from their first settlement, by many of these States, and still believed of consequence to their prosperity. And shall we refuse to the unhappy fugitives from distress, that hospitality which the savages of the wilderness extended to our fathers arriving in this land ? Shall oppressed humanity find no asylum on this globe ? The Constitution, indeed, has wisely provided that, for admission to certain offices of important trust, a residence shall be required, sufficient to develope character and design. But might not the general character and capabilities of a citizen be safely communicated to every one manifesting a *bona fide* purpose of embarking his life and fortunes permanently with us ? with restrictions, perhaps, to guard against the fraudulent usurpation of our flag ; an abuse which brings so much embarrassment and loss on the genuine citizen, and so much danger to the nation of being involved in war, that no endeavor should be spared to detect and suppress it.

These, fellow-citizens, are the matters respecting the state of the nation, which I have thought of importance to be submitted to your consideration at this time. Some others of less moment, or not yet ready for communication, will be the subject of separate messages. I am happy in this opportunity of committing the arduous affairs of our government to the collected wisdom of the union. Nothing shall be wanting on my part to inform, as far as in my power, the legislative judgment ; nor to carry that judgment into faithful execution. The prudence

and temperance of your discussions will promote, within your own walls, that conciliation which so much befriends rational conclusion ; and by its example, will encourage among our constituents that progress of opinion which is tending to unite them in object and in will. That all should be satisfied with any one order of things, is not to be expected ; but I indulge the pleasing persuasion that the great body of our citizens will cordially concur in honest and disinterested efforts, which have for their object to preserve the general and state governments in their constitutional form and equilibrium ; to maintain peace abroad, and order and obedience to the laws at home ; to establish principles and practices of administration favourable to the security of liberty and property, and to reduce expences to what is necessary for the useful purposes of government.

TH : JEFFERSON.

SEVENTH CONGRESS.

SECOND SESSION.

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

*TO the Senate and House of Representatives of
the United States.*

WHEN we assemble together, fellow citizens, to consider the state of our beloved country, our just attentions are first drawn to those pleasing circumstances which mark the goodness of that being from whose favor they flow, and the large measure of thankfulness we owe for his bounty. Another year has come around, and finds us still blessed with peace and friendship abroad, law, order and religion at home, good affection and harmony with our Indian neighbours, our burthens lightened; yet our income sufficient for the public wants, and the produce of the year great beyond example. These, fellow-citizens, are the circumstances under which we meet; and we remark with special satisfaction those which, under the smiles of providence, result from the skill, industry and order of our citizens, managing their own affairs in their own way, and for their own use, unembarrassed by too much regulation, unoppressed by fiscal exactions.

On the restoration of peace in Europe that portion of the carrying trade, which had fallen to our share during the war, was abridged by the returning competition of the belligerent powers. This was to be expected and was just. But, in additi-

on, we find, in some parts of Europe, monopolizing discriminations, which, in the form of duties, tend effectually to prohibit the carrying thither our own produce in our own vessels. From existing amities and a spirit of justice, it is hoped that friendly discussion will produce a fair and adequate reciprocity. But should false calculations of interest defeat our hope, it rests with the legislature to decide whether they will meet inequalities abroad with countervailing inequalities at home, or provide for the evil in any other way.

It is with satisfaction I lay before you an act of the British parliament anticipating this subject, so far as to authorise a mutual abolition of the duties and countervailing duties, permitted under the treaty of one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four. It shews on their part a spirit of justice and friendly accommodation, which it is our duty and our interest to cultivate with all nations. Whether this would produce a due equality in the navigation between the two countries, is a subject for your consideration.

Another circumstance which claims attention, as directly affecting the very source of our navigation, is the defect or the evasion of the law providing for the return of seamen, and particularly of those belonging to vessels sold abroad. Numbers of them, discharged in foreign ports, have been thrown on the hands of our Consuls, who, to rescue them from the dangers into which their distresses might plunge them, and save them to their country, have found it necessary, in some cases, to return them at the public charge.

The cession of the Spanish province of Louisiana to France, which took place in the course of the late war, will, if carried into effect, make a change in the aspect of our foreign relations, which will doubtless have just weight in any deli-

berations of the legislature connected with that subject.

There was reason, not long since, to apprehend that the warfare in which we were engaged with Tripoli, might be taken up by some other of the Barbary powers. A reinforcement therefore, was immediately ordered to the vessels already there. Subsequent information however has removed these apprehensions for the present. To secure our commerce in that sea, with the smallest force competent, we have supposed it best to watch strictly the harbor of Tripoli. Still, however, the shallowness of their coast, and the want of smaller vessels on our part, has permitted some cruisers to escape unobserved : and to one of these an American vessel unfortunately fell a prey. The captain, one American seaman, and two others of colour, remain prisoners with them ; unless exchanged under an agreement formerly made with the Bashaw, to whom, on the faith of that, some of his captive subjects had been restored.

The convention with the state of Georgia has been ratified by their legislature, and a re-purchase from the Creeks has been consequently made, of a *part* of the Tallasscee county. In this purchase has been also *comprehended* a part of the lands within the fork of Oconee and Oakmulgee rivers. The particulars of the contract will be laid before Congress so soon as they shall be in a state for communication.

In order to remove every ground of difference possible with our *Indian* neighbors, I have proceeded in the work of settling with them, and marking the boundaries between us. That with the Choctaw nation is fixed in one part, and will be through the whole within a short time. The country to which their title had been extinguished before the revolution is sufficient to receive a very re-

spectable population, which Congress will probably see the expediency of encouraging, so soon as the limits shall be declared. We are to view this position as an outpost of the United States, surrounded by strong neighbors, and distant from its support. And how far that monopoly, which prevents population, should here be guarded against, and actual habitation made a condition of the continuance of title, will be for your consideration. A prompt settlement too of all existing rights and claims within this territory, presents itself as a preliminary operation.

In that part of the Indiana territory which includes Vincennes, the lines settled with the neighboring tribes fix the extinction of their title at a breadth of twenty-four leagues from East to West, and about the same length parallel with and including the Wabash. They have also ceded a tract of four miles square, including the Salt-Springs, near the mouth of that river.

In the department of finance it is with pleasure I inform you that the receipts of external duties, for the last twelve months, have exceeded those of any former year, and that the ratio of increase has been also greater than usual. This has enabled us to answer all the regular exigencies of government, to pay from the treasury, within one year, upwards of eight millions of dollars, principal and interest, of the public debt, exclusive of upwards of one million, paid by the sale of bank stock, and making in the whole a reduction of nearly five millions and an half of principal, and to have now in the treasury four millions and an half of dollars, which are in a course of application to the further discharge of debt, and current demands. Experience too, so far, authorises us to believe, if no extraordinary event supervenes, and the expences which will be actually incurred shall not be greater

than were contemplated by Congress at their last session, that we shall not be disappointed in the expectations then formed. But nevertheless, as the effect of peace on the amount of duties is not yet fully ascertained, it is the more necessary to practise every useful economy, and to incur no expence, which may be avoided without prejudice.

The collection of the internal taxes having been completed in some of the states, the officers employed in it are of course out of commission. In others they will be so shortly. But in a few, where the arrangements for the direct tax had been retarded, it will still be some time before the system is closed. It has not yet been thought necessary to employ the agent authorised by an act of the last session, for transacting business in Europe relative to debts and loans, nor have we used the power, confided by the same act, of prolonging the foreign debt by reloans, and of redeeming instead thereof, an equal sum of the domestic debt. Should however the difficulties of remittance on so large a scale, render it necessary at any time, the power shall be executed, and the money thus unemployed abroad shall, in conformity with that law, be faithfully applied here in an equivalent extinction of domestic debt. When effects so salutary result from the plans you have already sanctioned, when merely by avoiding false objects of expence, we are able, without a direct tax, without internal taxes, and without borrowing, to make large and effectual payments towards the discharge of our public debt, and the emancipation of our posterity from that mortal canker, it is an encouragement, fellow citizens, of the highest order, to proceed as we have begun, in substituting economy for taxation, and in pursuing what is useful for a nation placed as we are, rather than what is practised by others under different circumstances. And when-

soever we are destined to meet events which shall call forth all the energies of our countrymen, we have the firmest reliance on those energies, and the comfort of leaving for calls like these the extraordinary resources of loans and internal taxes. In the mean time, by payments of the principal of our debt, we are liberating, annually, portions of the external taxes, and forming from them a growing fund, still further to lessen the necessity of recurring to extraordinary resources.

The usual account of receipts and expenditures for the last year, with an estimate of the expences of the ensuing one, will be laid before you by the Secretary of the Treasury.

No change being deemed necessary in our military establishment, an estimate of its expences for the ensuing year, on its present footing, as also of the sums to be employed in fortifications, and other objects within that department, has been prepared by the Secretary at War, and will make a part of the general estimates which will be presented you.

Considering that our regular troops are employed for local purposes, and that the militia is our general reliance for great and sudden emergencies, you will doubtless think this institution worthy of a review, and give it those improvements of which you find it susceptible.

Estimates for the naval department, prepared by the Secretary of the Navy for another year, will in like manner be communicated with the general estimates. A small force in the Mediterranean will still be necessary to restrain the Tripoline cruisers: and the uncertain tenure of peace with some other of the Barbary powers, may eventually require that force to be augmented. The necessity of procuring some smaller vessels for that service will raise the estimate: but the difference

in their maintenance will soon make it a measure of economy.

Presuming it will be deemed expedient to expend annually a convenient sum towards providing the naval defence which our situation may require, I cannot but recommend that the first appropriations for that purpose, may go to the saving what we already possess. No cares, no attentions, can preserve vessels from rapid decay, which lie in water, and exposed to the sun. These decays require great and constant repairs; and will consume, if continued, a great portion of the monies destined to naval purposes. To avoid this waste of our resources, it is proposed to add to our navy yard here a dock, within which our present vessels may be laid up dry, and under cover from the sun. Under these circumstances experience proves that works of wood will remain scarcely at all affected by time. The great abundance of running water which this situation possesses, at heights far above the level of the tide, if employed as is practised for lock navigation, furnishes the means for raising and laying up our vessels, on a dry and sheltered bed. And should the measure be found useful here, similar depositories for laying up, as well as for building and repairing vessels, may hereafter be undertaken at other navy yards, offering the same means. The plans and estimates of the work, prepared by a person of skill and experience, will be presented to you without delay, and from these it will be seen that scarcely more than has been the cost of one vessel, is necessary to save the whole, and that the annual sum to be employed towards its completion may be adapted to the views of the legislature, as to naval expenditure.

To cultivate peace and maintain commerce and navigation in all their lawful enterprizes; to foster

our fisheries as nurseries of navigation, and for the nurture of man, and protect the manufactures adapted to our circumstances ; to preserve the faith of the nation by an exact discharge of its debts and contracts, expend the public money with the same care and economy as we would practise with our own, and impose on our citizens no unnecessary burthens ; to keep in all things within the pale of our constitutional powers, and cherish the federal union, as the only rock of safety ; these, fellow citizens, are the land marks by which we are to guide ourselves in all our proceedings. By continuing to make these our rule of action, we shall endear to our countrymen the true principles of their constitution, and promote an union of sentiment and of action, equally auspicious to their happiness and safety. On my part you may count on a cordial concurrence in every measure for the public good ; and on all the information I possess, which may enable you to discharge to advantage the high functions with which you are invested by your country.

TH: JEFFERSON.

December 15th, 1802.

EIGHTH CONGRESS.

FIRST SESSION.

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

*To the Senate and House of Representatives of
the United States:*

IN calling you together, fellow-citizens, at an earlier day than was contemplated by the act of the last session of Congress, I have not been insensible to the personal inconveniences necessarily resulting from an unexpected change in your arrangements ; but matters of great public concernment have rendered this call necessary ; and the interests you feel in these will supersede in your minds all private considerations.

Congress witnessed, at their late session, the extraordinary agitation produced in the public mind by the suspension of our right of deposit, at the port of New-Orleans, no assignment of another place having been made according to treaty. They were sensible that the continuance of that privation would be more injurious to our nation, than any consequences which could flow from any mode of redress. But reposing just confidence in the good faith of the government whose officer had committed the wrong, friendly and reasonable representations were resorted to, and the right of deposit was restored.

Previous however to this period, we had not been unaware of the danger to which our peace would be perpetually exposed, whilst so important a key to the commerce of the Western country

remained under foreign power. Difficulties too were presenting themselves as to the navigation of other streams, which arising within our territories, pass through those adjacent. Propositions had therefore been authorised for obtaining, on fair conditions, the sovereignty of New-Orleans, and of other possessions in that quarter interesting to our quiet, to such extent as was deemed practicable : and the provisional appropriation of two millions of dollars, to be applied and accounted for by the President of the United States, intended as part of the price, was considered as conveying the sanction of Congress to the acquisition proposed. The enlightened government of France saw, with just discernment, the importance to both nations of such liberal arrangements as might best and permanently promote the peace, friendship and interests of both : and the property and sovereignty of all Louisiana, which had been restored to them, has, on certain conditions, been transferred to the United States by instruments bearing date the thirtieth of April last. When these shall have received the constitutional sanction of the Senate, they will, without delay, be communicated to the Representatives also, for the exercise of their functions as to those conditions which are within the powers vested by the constitution in Congress. Whilst the property and sovereignty of the Mississippi and its waters secure an independent outlet for the produce of the Western states, and an uncontrouled navigation through their whole course, free from collision with other powers, and the dangers to our peace from that source, the fertility of the country, its climate and extent, promise, in due season, important aids to our treasury, and ample provision for our posterity, and a wide spread for the blessings of freedom and equal laws.

With the wisdom of Congress it will rest to take those ulterior measures which may be necessary for the immediate occupation, and temporary government of the country ; for its incorporation into our union ; for rendering the change of government a blessing to our newly adopted brethren ; for securing to them the rights of conscience and of property ; for confirming to the Indian inhabitants their occupancy and self-government, establishing friendly and commercial relations with them, and for ascertaining the geography of the country acquired. Such materials for your information relative to its affairs in-general, as the short space of time has permitted me to collect, will be laid before you when the subject shall be in a state for your consideration.

Another important acquisition of territory has also been made since the last session of congress. The friendly tribe of Kaskaskia Indians, with which we have never had a difference, reduced by the wars and wants of savage life, to a few individuals unable to defend themselves against the neighboring tribes, has transferred its country to the United States, reserving only for its members what is sufficient to maintain them in an agricultural way. The considerations stipulated are, that we shall extend to them our patronage and protection, and give them certain annual aids, in money, in implements of agriculture, and other articles of their choice. This country, among the most fertile within our limits, extending along the Mississippi from the mouth of the Illinois to, and up, the Ohio, though not so necessary as a barrier, since the acquisition of the other bank, may yet be well worthy of being laid open to immediate settlement, as its inhabitants may descend with rapidity, in support of the lower country, should future circumstances expose that to foreign enterprise. As the stipulations, in this treaty also, in-

volve matters within the competence of both houses only, it will be laid before Congress so soon as the Senate shall have advised its ratification.

With many of the other Indian tribes, improvements in agriculture and household manufacture, are advancing; and, with all, our peace and friendship are established on grounds much firmer than heretofore. The measure adopted of establishing trading houses among them, and of furnishing them necessaries in exchange for their commodities, at such moderate prices as leave no gain, but cover us from loss, has the most conciliatory and useful effect on them, and is that which will best secure their peace and good will.

The small vessels authorised by Congress, with a view to the Mediterranean service, have been sent into that sea; and will be able more effectually to confine the Tripoline cruisers within their harbours, and supersede the necessity of convoy to our commerce in that quarter. They will sensibly lessen the expences of that service the ensuing year.

A further knowledge of the ground in the North Eastern, and North Western angles of the United States, has evinced that the boundaries established by the treaty of Paris, between the British territories and ours in those parts, were too imperfectly described to be susceptible of execution. It has therefore been thought worthy of attention, for preserving and cherishing the harmony and useful intercourse subsisting between the two nations, to remove by timely arrangements what unfavorable incidents might otherwise render a ground of future misunderstanding. A convention has therefore been entered into, which provides for a practicable demarkation of those limits, to the satisfaction of both parties.

An account of the receipts and expenditures of the year ending the thirtieth of September last,

with the estimates for the service of the ensuing year, will be laid before you by the Secretary of the Treasury, so soon as the receipts of the last quarter shall be returned from the more distant states. It is already ascertained that the amount paid into the treasury, for that year, has been between eleven and twelve millions of dollars, and that the revenue, accrued during the same term, exceeds the sum counted on, as sufficient for our current expences, and to extinguish the public debt, within the period heretofore proposed.

The amount of debt paid, for the same year, is about three millions one hundred thousand dollars, exclusive of interest, and making, with the payment of the preceding year, a discharge of more than eight millions and an half of dollars of the principal of that debt, besides the accruing interest : and there remain in the Treasury nearly six millions of dollars. Of these eight hundred and eighty thousand have been reserved for payment of the first instalment due, under the British convention of January eighth, one thousand eight hundred and two, and two millions are, what have been before mentioned, as placed by Congress under the power and accountability of the President, towards the price of New-Orleans and other territories acquired, which, remaining untouched, are still applicable to that object, and go in diminution of the sum to be funded for it.

Should the acquisition of Louisiana be constitutionally confirmed and carried into effect, a sum of nearly thirteen millions of dollars will then be added to our public debt, most of which is payable after fifteen years ; before which term the present existing debts will all be discharged, by the established operation of the sinking fund. When we contemplate the ordinary, annual augmentation of impost from increasing population and wealth, the augmentation of the same revenue, by its extension

to the new acquisition, and the economies which may still be introduced into our public expenditures, I cannot but hope that Congress, in reviewing their resources, will find means to meet the intermediate interest of this additional debt, without recurring to new taxes, and applying to this object only the ordinary progression of our revenue. Its extraordinary increase, in times of foreign war, will be the proper and sufficient fund for any measures of safety or precaution, which that state of things may render necessary in our neutral position.

Remittances for the instalments of our foreign debt having been found practicable without loss, it has not been thought expedient to use the power given by a former act of Congress, of continuing them by re-loans, and of redeeming, instead thereof, equal sums of domestic debt, although no difficulty was found in obtaining that accommodation.

The sum of fifty thousand dollars, appropriated by Congress for providing gun-boats, remains unexpended. The favorable and peaceable turn of affairs, on the Mississippi, rendered an immediate execution of that law unnecessary; and time was desirable, in order that the institution of that branch of our force might begin on models the most approved by experience. The same issue of events dispensed with a resort to the appropriation of a million and an half of dollars, contemplated for purposes which were effected by happier means.

We have seen with sincere concern the flames of war lighted up again in Europe, and nations, with which we have the most friendly and useful relations, engaged in mutual destruction. While we regret the miseries in which we see others involved, let us bow with gratitude to that kind Providence, which, inspiring with wisdom and moderation our late legislative councils, while placed under the urgency of the greatest wrongs, guarded

us from hastily entering into the sanguinary contest, and left us only to look on and to pity its ravages. These will be heaviest on those immediately engaged; yet the nations pursuing peace will not be exempt from all evil. In the course of this conflict let it be our endeavor, as it is our interest and desire, to cultivate the friendship of the belligerent nations by every act of justice and of innocent kindness; to receive their armed vessels, with hospitality, from the distresses of the sea, but to administer the means of annoyance to none; to establish in our harbors, such a police as may maintain law and order; to restrain our citizens from embarking individually in a war in which their country takes no part; to punish severely those persons, citizen or alien, who shall usurp the cover of our flag, for vessels not entitled to it, infecting thereby with suspicion those of real Americans, and committing us into controversies for the redress of wrongs not our own; to exact from every nation the observance, towards our vessels and citizens, of those principles and practices which all civilised people acknowledge; to merit the character of a just nation, and maintain that of an independent one, preferring every consequence to insult and habitual wrong. Congress will consider whether the existing laws enable us efficaciously to maintain this course with our citizens in all places and with others while within the limits of our jurisdiction, and will give them the new modifications necessary for these objects. Some contraventions of right have already taken place, both within our jurisdictional limits, and on the high seas. The friendly disposition of the governments from whose agents they have proceeded, as well as their wisdom and regard for justice, leave us in reasonable expectation, that they will be rectified and prevented in future: and that no act will be countenanced by them which threatens

to disturb our friendly intercourse. Separated by a wide ocean from the nations of Europe, and from the political interests which entangle them together, with productions and wants which render our commerce and friendship useful to them, and theirs to us, it cannot be the interest of any to assail us, nor ours to disturb them. We should be most unwise indeed, were we to cast away the singular blessings of the position in which nature has placed us, the opportunity she has endowed us with, of pursuing, at a distance from foreign contentions, the paths of industry, peace, and happiness, of cultivating general friendship, and of bringing collisions of interest to the umpirage of reason, rather than of force. How desirable then must it be, in a government like ours, to see its citizens adopt individually the views, the interests, and the conduct which their country should pursue, divesting themselves of those passions and partialities, which tend to lessen useful friendships, and to embarrass and embroil us in the calamitous scenes of Europe. Confident, fellow citizens, that you will duly estimate the importance of neutral dispositions, towards the observance of neutral conduct, that you will be sensible how much it is our duty to look on the bloody Arena spread before us, with commiseration indeed, but with no other wish than to see it closed, I am persuaded you will cordially cherish these dispositions, in all discussions among yourselves, and in all communications with your constituents. And I anticipate, with satisfaction the measures of wisdom, which the great interests now committed to you, will give *you* an opportunity of providing and *myself* that of approving, and of carrying into execution, with the fidelity I owe to my country.

TH: JEFFERSON.

October 17th, 1803.

EIGHTH CONGRESS.

SECOND SESSION.

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

*To the Senate and House of Representatives
of the United States.*

TO a people, fellow-citizens, who sincerely desire the happiness and prosperity of other nations, to those who justly calculate that their own well being is advanced by that of the nations with which they have intercourse, it will be a satisfaction to observe that the war which was lighted up in Europe a little before our last meeting, has not yet extended its flames to other nations, nor been marked by the calamities which sometimes stain the footsteps of war. The irregularities too on the ocean, which generally harass the commerce of neutral nations, have, in distant parts, disturbed ours less than on former occasions. But, in the American seas, they have been greater from peculiar causes; and even within our harbors and jurisdiction, infringements on the authority of the laws have been committed which have called for serious attention. The friendly conduct of the governments from whose officers and subjects these acts have proceeded, in other respects, and in places more under their observation and control, gives us confidence that our representations on this subject will have been properly regarded.

While noticing the irregularities committed on the ocean by others, those on our own part should not be omitted, nor left unprovided for. Complaints have been received that persons, residing within the United States, have taken on themselves to arm merchant vessels, and to force a commerce into certain ports and countries, in defiance of the laws of those countries. That individuals should undertake to wage private war, independently of the authority of their country, cannot be permitted in a well ordered society. Its tendency to produce aggression on the laws and rights of other nations, and to endanger the peace of our own, is so obvious, that I doubt not you will adopt measures for restraining it effectually in future.

Soon after the passage of the act of the last session, authorising the establishment of a district and port of entry on the waters of the Mobile, we learnt that its object was misunderstood on the part of Spain. Candid explanations were immediately given, and assurances, that, reserving our claims in that quarter as a subject of discussion and arrangement with Spain, no act was meditated in the mean time inconsistent with the peace and friendship existing between the two nations: and that conformably to these intentions would be the execution of the law. That government had however thought proper to suspend the ratification of the convention of one thousand eight hundred and two. But the explanations which would reach them soon after, and still more the confirmation of them by the tenor of the instrument establishing the port and district, may reasonably be expected to replace them in the dispositions and views of the whole subject which originally dictated the convention.

I have the satisfaction to inform you that the objections which had been urged by that government against the validity of our title to the country of

Louisiana have been withdrawn: its exact limits however remaining still to be settled between us. And to this is to be added that having prepared and delivered the stock created in execution of the convention of Paris of April thirtieth, one thousand eight hundred and three, in consideration of the cession of that country, we have received from the government of France an acknowledgment in due form of the fulfilment of that stipulation.

With the nations of Europe in general our friendship and intercourse are undisturbed: and from the governments of the belligerent powers especially, we continue to receive those friendly manifestations which are justly due to an honest neutrality, and to such good offices consistent with that, as we have opportunities of rendering.

The activity and success of the small force employed in the Mediterranean in the early part of the present year, the reinforcements sent into that sea, and the energy of the officers having command in the several vessels, will, I trust, by the sufferings of war, reduce the barbarians of Tripoli to the desire of peace on proper terms. Great injury however ensues to ourselves as well as to others interested, from the distance to which prizes must be brought for adjudication, and from the impracticability of bringing hither such as are not seaworthy.

The Bey of Tunis having made requisitions unauthorised by our treaty, their rejection has produced from him some expressions of discontent. But to those who expect us to calculate whether a compliance with unjust demands will not cost us less than a war, we must leave as a question of calculation for them also, whether to retire from unjust demands will not cost them less than a war. We can do to each other very sensible injuries by war. But

the mutual advantages of peace make that the best interest of both.

Peace and intercourse with the other powers on the same coast continue on the footing on which they are established by treaty.

In pursuance of the act providing for the temporary government of Louisiana, the necessary officers for the territory of Orleans were appointed in due time to commence the exercise of their functions on the first day of October. The distance however of some of them, and indispensable previous arrangements, may have retarded its commencement in some of its parts. The form of government thus provided having been considered but as temporary, and open to such future improvements as further information of the circumstances of our brethren there might suggest, it will of course be subject to your consideration.

In the district of Louisiana it has been thought best to adopt the division into subordinate districts which had been established under its former government. These being five in number, a commanding officer has been appointed to each according to the provisions of the law, and so soon as they can be at their stations that district will also be in its due state of organization. In the mean time their places are supplied by the officers before commanding there, and the functions of the governor and judges of Indiana having commenced, the government, we presume, is proceeding in its new form. The lead mines in that district offer so rich a supply of that metal as to merit attention. The report now communicated will inform you of their state, and of the necessity of immediate enquiry into their occupation and titles.

With the Indian tribes established within our newly acquired limits, I have deemed it necessary

to open conferences for the purpose of establishing a good understanding and neighbourly relations between us. So far as we have yet learned, we have reason to believe that their dispositions are generally favorable and friendly. And, with these dispositions on their part, we have in our own hands means which cannot fail us, for preserving their peace and friendship. By pursuing an uniform course of justice towards them, by aiding them in all the improvements which may better their condition, and especially by establishing a commerce on terms which shall be advantageous to them; and only not losing to us, and so regulated as that no incendiaries, of our own, or any other nation, may be permitted to disturb the natural effects of our just and friendly offices, we may render ourselves so necessary to their comfort and prosperity, that the protection of our citizens from their disorderly members will become their interest and their voluntary care. Instead therefore of an augmentation of military force proportioned to our extension of frontier, I propose a moderate enlargement of the capital employed in that commerce as a more effectual, economical and humane instrument for preserving peace and good neighbourhood with them.

On this side the Mississippi an important relinquishment of native title has been received from the Delawares. That tribe, desiring to extinguish in their people the spirit of hunting, and to convert superfluous lands into the means of improving what they retain, has ceded to us all the country between the Wabash and Ohio, south of, and including the road from the Rapids towards Vincennes; for which they are to receive annuities in animals and implements for agriculture, and in other necessities. This acquisition is important not only for its extent and fertility, but as, fronting three hundred

miles on the Ohio, and near half that on the Wabash, the produce of the settled country descending those rivers will no longer pass in review of the Indian frontier, but in a small portion ; and, with the cession heretofore made by the Kaskaskias, nearly consolidates our possessions north of the Ohio, in a very respectable breadth from Lake Erie to the Mississippi. The Piankeshaws having some claim to the country ceded by the Delawares, it has been thought best to quiet that by fair purchase also. So soon as the treaties on this subject shall have received their constitutional sanctions, they shall be laid before both houses.

The act of Congress of February twenty-eight, one thousand eight hundred and three, for building and employing a number of gun boats, is now in a course of execution to the extent there provided for. The obstacle to naval enterprise which vessels of this construction offer for our sea port towns, their utility towards supporting within our waters the authority of the laws, the promptness with which they will be manned by the seamen and militia of the place in the moment they are wanting, the facility of their assembling from different parts of the coast to any point where they are required in greater force than ordinary, the economy of their maintenance and preservation from decay when not in actual service, and the competence of our finances to this defensive provision without any new burthen, are considerations which will have due weight with Congress in deciding on the expediency of adding to their number from year to year, as experience shall test their utility, until all our important harbors, by these and auxiliary means, shall be secured against insult and opposition to the laws.

No circumstance has arisen since your last session which calls for any augmentation of our regular

military force. Should any improvement occur in the militia system, that will be always seasonable.

Accounts of the receipts and expenditures of the last year, with estimates for the ensuing one will, as usual, be laid before you.

The state of our finances continues to fulfil our expectations. Eleven millions and an half of dollars, received in the course of the year ending on the thirtieth of September last, have enabled us, after meeting all the ordinary expences of the year, to pay upwards of three millions six hundred thousand dollars of the public debt, exclusive of interest. This payment, with those of the two preceding years, has extinguished upwards of twelve millions of principal, and a greater sum of interest, within that period; and, by a proportionate diminution of interest renders already sensible the effect of the growing sum yearly applicable to the discharge of principal.

It is also ascertained that the revenue accrued during the last year, exceeds that of the preceding; and the probable receipts of the ensuing year may safely be relied on as sufficient, with the sum already in the treasury, to meet all the current demands of the year, to discharge upwards of three millions and a half of the engagements incurred under the British and French conventions, and to advance in the further redemption of the funded debt as rapidly as had been contemplated.

These, fellow-citizens, are the principal matters which I have thought it necessary at this time to communicate for your consideration and attention. Some others will be laid before you in the course of the session. But in the discharge of the great duties confided to you by our country, you will take a broader view of the field of legislation.

Whether the great interests of agriculture, manufactures, commerce or navigation, can, within the pale of your constitutional powers, be aided in any of their relations? Whether laws are provided in all cases where they are wanting? Whether those provided are exactly what they should be? Whether any abuses take place in their administration or in that of the public revenues? Whether the organization of the public agents, or of the public force is perfect in all its parts? In fine, whether any thing can be done to advance the general good? are questions within the limits of your functions, which will necessarily occupy your attention. In these and all other matters, which you in your wisdom may propose for the good of our country, you may count with assurance on my hearty co-operation and faithful execution.

TH: JEFFERSON.

November 8, 1804.

A P P E N D I X.

FAREWELL ADDRESS of G. WASHINGTON, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

To the PEOPLE of the UNITED STATES:

FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CITIZENS,

THE period for a new election of a Citizen, to administer the executive government of the United States, being not far distant, and the time actually arrived, when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person, who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those, out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken, without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation, which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that, in withdrawing the tender of service which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest; no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in

the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped, that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives, which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement, from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you ; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice, that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty, or propriety ; and am persuaded whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust, were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say, that I have with good intentions, contributed towards the organization and administration of the government, the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious, in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself ; and every day the encreasing weight of years admonishes me more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my service, they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe, that while choice and pru-

dence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment, which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country, for the many honours it has conferred upon me ; still more for the stedfast confidence with which it has supported me ; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead, amidst appearances sometimes dubious,—vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging,—in situations in which not unfrequently want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism—the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans by which they were effected.—Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows that Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence—that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual—that the free constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained—that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue—that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these States, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete, by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments, which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of government which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquility at home, your peace abroad; of your safety, of your prosperity, of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee, that from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union, to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as the Palladium of your po-

litical safety and prosperity ; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety ; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned ; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of AMERICAN, which belongs to you, in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits and political principles. You have in a common cause fought and triumphed together ; the independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint councils, and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest. Here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

The *North*, in an unrestrained intercourse with the *South*, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter, great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The *South* in the same intercourse, benefitting by the agency of the *North*, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the *North*, it finds its particular navigation invigorated ;—and while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish

and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength, to which itself is unequally adapted. The *East*, in a like intercourse with the *West*, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communications, by land and water, will more and more find a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home.—The *West* derives from the *East* supplies requisite to its growth and comfort: And what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the *secure* enjoyment of indispensable *outlets* for its own productions to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as *one nation*. Any other tenure by which the *West* can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connection with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While then every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts, greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations;—and what is of inestimable value, they must derive from union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighbouring countries, not tied together by the same government; which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments and intrigues, would stimulate and embitter. Hence likewise they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which under any form of government are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican

liberty. In this sense it is, that your union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the UNION as a primary object of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case, were criminal. We are authorised to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. 'Tis well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those who in any quarter may endeavour to weaken its bands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our union, it occurs as matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterising parties by *geographical* discriminations—*Northern* and *Southern*—*Atlantic* and *Western*; whence designing men may endeavour to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence, within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart burnings which spring from these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head: they have seen, in the negotiation by the Executive,

and in the unanimous ratification by the Senate, of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at that event, throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of a policy in the general government, and in the Atlantic states, unfriendly to their interest in regard to the *Mississippi*: they have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties, that with Great Britain and that with Spain, which secure to them every thing they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, towards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the UNION by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their brethren, and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your union, a Government for the whole is indispensable—No alliances, however strict, between the parts can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances in all times have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a constitution of government better calculated than your former for an intimate union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems

is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government.—But, the constitution which at any time exists, till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government pre-supposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, controul, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force—to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation, the will of a party, often a small but artful and enterprizing minority of the community ; and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans digested by common councils, and modified by mutual interests.

However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government ; destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

Towards the preservation of your government, and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit

of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretexts.—One method of assault may be to effect in the forms of the constitution, alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments, as of other human institutions—that experience is the surest standard by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country—that facility in changes upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion; and remember, especially that for the efficient management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigour as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty, is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprizes of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

I have already intimated to you, the danger of parties in the state, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party, generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind—It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controuled or repressed; but in those of the popular form,

it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge, natural to party dissention, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism.—But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism.—The disorders and miseries, which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual: and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation, on the ruins of public liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight) the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the public councils and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another, foment occasionally riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This within certain limits is probably true; and in governments of a monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favour upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular

character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched ; it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest, instead of warming, it should consume.

It is important likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country, should inspire caution in those entrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal against invasions by the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern : some of them in our country and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the constitution designates.—But let there be no change by usurpation ; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed.—The precedent must always greatly

overbalance in permanent evil any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports.—In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labour to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens.—The mere politician, equally with the pious man ought to respect and to cherish them.—A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation *desert* the oaths, which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition, that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

'Tis substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule indeed extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who that is a sincere friend to it can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge.—In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible; avoiding occasions of expence by cultivating peace, but remembering also that timely disbursements to pre-

pare for danger frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it ; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expence, but by vigorous exertions in time of peace to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burthen which we ourselves ought to bear.—The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should co-operate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there must be revenue ; that to have revenue there must be taxes ; that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant ; that the intrinsic embarrassment inseparable from the selection of the proper objects (which is always a choice of difficulties) ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations, cultivate peace and harmony with all ; religion and morality enjoin this conduct ; and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it ? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt that in the course of time and things the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it ? Can it be, that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue ? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas ! is it rendered impossible by its vices ?

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations, and passionate attachments for others should be excluded ; and that in place of them just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The nation, which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable, where accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence frequent collisions, obstinate, evenomed and bloody contests. The nation, prompted by ill will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the government contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion what reason would reject ; at other times, it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility, instigated by pride, ambition and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty, of nations has been the victim.

So likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favourite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest, in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enormities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also to concessions to the favourite nation of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions ; by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been

retained ; and by exciting jealousy, ill will, and a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld : And it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens (who devote themselves to the favourite nation) facility to betray, or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity ; gilding with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practice the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils ! Such an attachment of a small or weak, towards a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow citizens) the jealousy of a free people ought to be *constantly* awake ; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy to be useful must be impartial ; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defence against it.—Excessive partiality for one foreign nation, and excessive dislike of another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts or influence on the other.—Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favourite, are liable to become suspected and odious ; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little *political* connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith.—Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off, when we may defy material injury from external annoyance ; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality, we may at any time resolve upon, to be scrupulously respected ; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation ; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation ? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground ? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humour or caprice ?

'Tis our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world ; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it ; for let me not be understood as capable of patronising infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it,

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fore, let those engagements be observed in their
ne sense. But in my opinion, it is unnecessary,
ould be unwise to extend them.

king care to keep ourselves, by suitable estab-
ments, on a respectable defensive posture, we
safely trust to temporary alliances for extraor-
ry emergencies.

armony, liberal intercourse with all nations, are
mmended by policy, humanity, and interest.
even our commercial policy should hold an equal
impartial hand ; neither seeking nor granting
lusive favours or preferences ; consulting the na-
al course of things ; diffusing and diversifying by
tle means the streams of commerce, but forcing
hing ; establishing, with powers so disposed, in
der to give trade a stable course, to define the
ghts of our merchants, and to enable the govern-
ment to support them ; conventional rules of inter-
course, the best that present circumstances and
mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and
able to be from time to time abandoned or varied,
as experience and circumstances shall dictate ; con-
stantly keeping in view, that 'tis folly in one nation
to look for disinterested favours from another ; that
it must pay with a portion of its independence for
whatever it may accept under that character ; that
by such acceptance, it may place itself in the con-
dition of having given equivalents for nominal fa-
vours, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude
for not giving more. There can be no greater error
than to expect, or calculate upon real favours from
nation to nation. 'Tis an illusion which experience
must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels
of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they
will make the strong and lasting impression I could
wish ; that they will controul the usual current of
the passion, or prevent our nation from running the
course which has hitherto marked the destiny of
nations : But if I may even flatter myself, that they

may be productive of some partial benefit, son-
casional good ; that they may now and then re-
moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn again
mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the
postures of pretended patriotism ; this hope will be
a full recompence for the solicitude for your welfare,
by which they have been dictated.

How far in the discharge of my official duties
have been guided by the principles which have
delineated, the public records and other evidence
my conduct must witness to you and to the world.
To myself, the assurance of my own conscience
that I have at least believed myself to be guided
them.

In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe,
my proclamation of the 22d of April, 1793, is
index to my plan. Sanctioned by your approving
voice and by that of your Representatives in
both Houses of Congress, the spirit of that measure
continually governed me ; uninfluenced by any
attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination with the aid of
the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied
that our country, under all the circumstances of the
case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty
and interest, to take a neutral position. Having taken
it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me,
to maintain it, with moderation, perseverance
and firmness.

The considerations which respect the right
to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this oc-
ca- sion to detail. I will only observe, that accord-
ing to my understanding of the matter, that right
so far from being denied by any of the belligerent
powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be
inferred, without any thing more, from the obligation,
which justice and humanity impose on every nation,
in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain invio-

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late the relations of peace and amity towards other nations.

The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavor to gain time to our country to settle and mature its recent institutions, and to progress without interruption, to that degree of strength and consistency, which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error ; I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence ; and that after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service, with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansion of rest.

Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it, which is so natural to a man, who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations ; I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat, in which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow-citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government—the favourite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labours, and dangers.

G. WASHINGTON,

United States, Sept. 17, 1796.

The INAUGURAL SPEECH of JOHN ADAMS,
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

WHEN it was first perceived, in early times, that no middle course for America remained; between unlimited submission to a foreign legislature, and a total independence of its claims; men of reflection were less apprehensive of danger, from the formidable power of fleets and armies, they must determine to resist, than from those contests and dissensions, which would certainly arise, concerning the forms of government to be instituted, over the whole and over the parts of this extensive country. Relying, however, on the purity of their intentions, the justice of their cause, and the integrity and intelligence of the people under an over-ruling Providence, which had so signally protected this country from the first, *the Representatives of this nation, then consisting of little more than half its present numbers, not only broke to pieces the chains which were forging, and the rod of iron that was lifted up, but frankly cut asunder the ties which had bound them, and launched into an ocean of uncertainty.*

The zeal and ardour of the people, during the revolutionary war, supplying the place of government, commanded a degree of order, sufficient at least for the temporary preservation of society. The Confederation, which was early felt to be necessary, was prepared from the models of the Batavian and Helvetic Confederacies, the only examples which remain with any detail and precision, in history, and certainly the only ones which the people at large had ever considered. But, reflecting on the striking difference, in so many particulars, between this country and those, where a courier may go from the seat of government to the frontier in a single day, it was then certainly foreseen by some who assisted in Congress at the formation of it, that it could not be durable.

Negligence of its regulations, inattention to its recommendations, if not disobedience to its authority, not only in individuals but in States, soon appeared,

with their melancholy consequences; universal languor, jealousies and rivalries of States; decline of navigation and commerce; discouragement of necessary manufactures; universal fall in the value of lands and their produce; contempt of public and private faith; loss of consideration and credit with foreign nations; and at length in discontents, animosities, combinations, partial conventions, and insurrection, threatening some great national calamity.

In this dangerous crisis, the people of America were not abandoned by their usual good sense, presence of mind, resolution or integrity.—Measures were pursued to concert a plan, to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty. The public disquisitions, discussions and deliberations issued in the present happy constitution of government.

Employed in the service of my country abroad, during the whole course of these transactions, I first saw the constitution of the United States in a foreign country. Irritated by no literary altercation, animated by no public debate, heated by no party animosity, I read it with great satisfaction, as a result of good heads, prompted by good hearts; as an experiment, better adapted to the genius, character, situation and relation of this nation and country, than any which had ever been proposed or suggested. In its general principles and great outlines, it was conformable to such a system of government, as I had ever most esteemed, and in some states, my own native state in particular, had contributed to establish. Claiming a right of suffrage, in common with my fellow-citizens, in the adoption or rejection of a constitution which was to rule me and my posterity, as well as them and theirs, I did not hesitate to express my approbation of it, on all occasions, in public and in private. It was not then, nor has been since, any objection to it in my mind, that the Executive and

Senate were not more permanent. Nor have I ever entertained a thought of promoting any alteration in it, but such as the people themselves, in the course of their experience, should see and feel to be necessary or expedient, and by their representatives in Congress and the Legislatures, according to the constitution itself, adopt and ordain.

Returning to the bosom of my country, after a painful separation from it for ten years, I had the honour to be elected to a station under the new order of things, and I have repeatedly laid myself under the most serious obligations to support the constitution. The operation of it has equalled the most sanguine expectations of its friends; and from an habitual attention to it, satisfaction in its administration, and delight in its effects, upon the peace, order, prosperity, and happiness of the nation, I have acquired an habitual attachment to it, and veneration for it.

What other form of government indeed can so well deserve our esteem and love?

There may be little solidity in an ancient idea, that congregations of men into nations and cities, are the most pleasing objects in the sight of superior intelligencies: but this is very certain, that to a benevolent human mind, there can be no spectacle presented by any nation more pleasing, more noble, majestic or august, than an assembly, like that which has so often been seen in this and the other chamber of Congress, of a government, in which the executive authority, as well as that of all the branches of the legislature, are exercised by citizens selected, at regular periods, by their neighbours, to make and execute laws for the general good. Can any thing essential, any thing more than mere ornament and decoration be added to this by robes and diamonds? Can authority be more amiable or respectable, when it descends from accidents, or institutions established in remote antiquity, than when it springs fresh from the hearts and judgment of an honest and enlightened people? For it is the people only that are represent-

ed : it is their power and majesty that is reflected, and only for their good, in every legitimate government, under whatever form it may appear. The existence of such a government as ours, for any length of time, is a full proof of a general dissemination of knowledge and virtue, throughout the whole body of the people. And what object or consideration more pleasing than this can be presented to the human mind? If national pride is ever justifiable or excusable, it is when it springs not from power or riches, grandeur or glory, but from conviction of national innocence, information and benevolence.

In the midst of these pleasing ideas, we should be unfaithful to ourselves if we should ever lose sight of the danger to our liberties, if any thing partial or extraneous should infect the purity of our free, fair, virtuous and independent elections. If an election is to be determined by a majority of a single vote, and that can be procured by a party, through artifice or corruption, the government may be the choice of a party, for its own ends, not of the nation, for the national good. If the solitary suffrage can be obtained by foreign nations by flattery or menaces, by fraud or violence, by terror, intrigue, or venality, the government may not be the choice of the American people, but of foreign nations. It may be foreign nations who govern us, and not We the People, who govern ourselves. And candid men will acknowledge, that in such cases, choice would have little advantage to boast of, over lot or chance.

Such is the amiable and interesting system of government (and such are some of the abuses to which it may be exposed) which the people of America have exhibited to the admiration and anxiety of the wise and virtuous of all nations, for eight years, under the administration of a citizen, who, by a long course of great actions, regulated by prudence, justice, temperance and fortitude; conducting a people, inspired with the same virtues, & animated with the same ardent patriotism and love of liberty, to independence and

peace, to encreasing wealth and unexampled prosperity; has merited the gratitude of his fellow-citizens, commanded the highest praises of foreign nations, and secured immortal glory with posterity.

In that retirement which is his voluntary choice, may he long live to enjoy the delicious recollection of his services, the gratitude of mankind; the happy fruits of them to himself and the world, which are daily encreasing, and that splendid prospect of the future fortunes of his country, which is opening from year to year. His name may be still a rampart, and the knowledge that he lives a bulwark against all open or secret enemies of his country's peace.

This example has been recommended to the imitation of his successors, by both Houses of Congress, and by the voice of the legislatures and the people, throughout the nation.

On this subject it might become me better to be silent, or to speak with diffidence: But as something may be expected, the occasion, I hope, will be admitted as an apology, if I venture to say, that,

If a preference, upon principle, of a free republican government, formed upon long and serious reflection, after a diligent and impartial enquiry after truth; if an attachment to the constitution of the United States, and a conscientious determination to support it, until it shall be altered by the judgments and wishes of the people, expressed in the mode prescribed in it; if a respectful attention to the constitutions of the individual states, and a constant caution and delicacy towards the state governments; if an impartial regard to the rights, interests, honour, and happiness of all the states of the union, without preference to a northern or southern, an eastern or western position, their various political opinions or unessential points, or their personal attachments; if a love of virtuous men of all parties and denominations; if a love of science and letters, and a wish to patronize every rational effort to encourage schools,

colleges, universities, academies, and every institution for propagating knowledge, virtue and religion among all classes of the people, not only for their benign influence on the happiness of life, in all its stages and classes, and of society in all its forms, but as the only means of preserving our constitution from all its natural enemies, the spirit of sophistry, the spirit of party, and the spirit of intrigue, the profligacy of corruption, and the pestilence of foreign influence, which is the angel of destruction to elective governments; if a love of equal laws, of justice and humanity, in the interior administration; if an inclination to improve agriculture, commerce and manufactures for necessity, convenience and defence; if a spirit of equity and humanity towards the aboriginal nations of America, and a disposition to meliorate their condition, by inclining them to be more friendly to us and our citizens to be more friendly to them; if an inflexible determination to maintain peace and inviolable faith with all nations, and that system of neutrality and impartiality among the belligerent powers of Europe, which has been adopted by this government, and so solemnly sanctioned by both houses of Congress, and applauded by the legislatures of the states, and the public opinion, until it shall be otherwise ordained by Congress; if a personal esteem for the French nation, formed in a residence of seven years, chiefly among them, and a sincere desire to preserve the friendship which has been so much for the honour and interest of both nations; if, while the conscious honour and integrity of the people of America, and the internal sentiment of their own power and energies must be preserved, an earnest endeavour to investigate every just cause, and remove every colourable pretence of complaint; if an intention to pursue, by amicable negotiation, a reparation for the injuries that have been committed on the commerce of our fellow-citizens by whatever nation; and if success cannot be obtained, to lay the facts before the legislature, that they may consider what further mea-

sures the honour and interest of the government and its constituents demand ; if a resolution to do justice, as far as may depend upon me, at all times, and to all nations, and maintain peace, friendship and benevolence with all the world ; if an unshaken confidence in the honour, spirit, and resources of the American people, on which I have so often hazarded my all, and never been deceived ; if elevated ideas of the high destinies of this country, and of my own duties towards it, founded on a knowledge of the moral principles and intellectual improvements of the people, deeply engraven on my mind in early life, and not obscured, but exalted by experience and age ; and with humble reverence I feel it my duty to add, if a veneration for the religion of a people, who profess and call themselves Christians, and a fixed resolution to consider a decent respect for Christianity among the best recommendations for the public service :—can enable me, in any degree to comply with your wishes, it shall be my strenuous endeavour that this sagacious injunction of the two houses shall not be without effect.

With this great example before me, with the sense and spirit, the faith and honour, the duty and interest of the same American people, pledged to support the constitution of the United States, I entertain no doubt of its continuance in all its energy ; and my mind is prepared, without hesitation, to lay myself under the most solemn obligations to support it to the utmost of my power.

And may that Being, who is supreme over all, the Patron of order, the Fountain of justice, and the Protector, in all ages of the world, of virtuous liberty, continue his blessing upon the nation and its government, and give it all possible success and duration, consistent with the ends of his providence.

THE INAUGURAL SPEECH OF THOMAS JEFFERSON,

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW CITIZENS,

CALLED upon to undertake the duties of the first Executive office of our country, I avail myself of the presence of that portion of my fellow citizens which is here assembled, to express my grateful thanks for the favor with which they have been pleased to look towards me, to declare a sincere consciousness that the task is above my talents, and that I approach it with those anxious and awful presentiments which the greatness of the charge and the weakness of my powers so justly inspire. A rising nation, spread over a wide and fruitful land, traversing all the seas with the rich productions of their industry, engaged in commerce with nations who feel power and forget right, advancing rapidly to destinies beyond the reach of mortal eye; when I contemplate these transcendent objects, and see the honor, the happiness, and the hopes of this beloved country committed to the issue and the auspices of this day, I shrink from the contemplation and humble myself before the magnitude of the undertaking. Utterly indeed should I despair, did not the presence of many, whom I here see, remind me, that, in the other high authorities provided by our constitution, I shall find resources of wisdom, of virtue, and of zeal, on which to rely under all difficulties. To you, then, gentlemen, who are charged with the sovereign functions of legislation, and to those associated with you, I look with encouragement for that guidance and support which may enable us to steer with safety the vessel in which we are all embarked, amidst the conflicting elements of a troubled world.

During the contest of opinion through which we have past, the animation of discussions and of exertions has sometimes worn an aspect which might impose on strangers unused to think freely, and to speak and to write what they think; but this being now

decided by the voice of the nation, announced according to the rules of the constitution, all will of course arrange themselves under the will of the law, and unite in common efforts for the common good. All too will bear in mind this sacred principle, that though the will of the majority is in all cases to prevail, that will, to be rightful, must be reasonable; that the minority possess their equal rights, which equal laws must protect, and to violate would be oppression. Let us then, fellow citizens, unite with one heart and one mind; let us restore to social intercourse that harmony and affection without which liberty, and even life itself, are but dreary things. And let us reflect that having banished from our land that religious intolerance under which mankind so long bled and suffered, we have yet gained little, if we countenance a political intolerance, as despotic, as wicked, and capable of as bitter and bloody persecutions. During the throes and convulsions of the ancient world, during the agonising spasms of infuriated man, seeking through blood and slaughter his long lost liberty, it was not wonderful that the agitation of the billows should reach even this distant and peaceful shore; that this should be more felt and feared by some and less by others; and should divide opinions as to measures of safety; but every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle. We have called by different names brethren of the same principle. We are all republicans; we are all federalists. If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve this union, or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated, where reason is left free to combat it. I know indeed that some honest men fear that a republican government cannot be strong; that this government is not strong enough. But would the honest patriot, in the full tide of successful experiment, abandon a government which has so far kept us free and firm, on the theoretic and visionary fear, that this government, the world's best hope, may, by possibility,

want energy to preserve itself? I trust not. I believe this, on the contrary, the strongest government on earth. I believe it the only one, where every man, at the call of the law, would fly to the standard of the law, and would meet invasions of the public order as his own personal concern.—Sometimes it is said that man cannot be trusted with the government of himself. Can he then be trusted with the government of others? Or have we found angels, in the form of kings, to govern him? Let history answer this question.

Let us then, with courage and confidence, pursue our own federal and republican principles; our attachment to union and representative government. Kindly separated by nature and a wide ocean from the exterminating havoc of one quarter of the globe; too high minded to endure the degradations of the others, possessing a chosen country, with room enough for our descendants to the thousandth and thousandth generation, entertaining a due sense of our equal right to the use of our own faculties, to the acquisitions of our own industry, to honour and confidence from our fellow citizens, resulting not from birth, but from our actions, and their sense of them, enlightened by a benign religion, professed indeed and practised in various forms, yet all of them inculcating honesty, truth, temperance, gratitude and the love of man, acknowledging and adoring an overruling providence, which by all its dispensations proves that it delights in the happiness of man here, and his greater happiness hereafter; with all these blessings, what more is necessary to make us a happy and a prosperous people? Still one thing more, fellow citizens, a wise and frugal government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another, shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth of labour the bread it has earned. This is the sum of good government; and this is necessary to close the circle of our felicities.

About to enter, fellow citizens, on the exercise of duties which comprehend every thing dear and valua-

ble to you, it is proper you should understand what I deem the essential principles of our government, and consequently those which ought to shape its administration. I will compress them within the narrowest compass they will bear, stating the general principle, but not all its limitations.—Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political:—peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none:—the support of the state governments in all their rights, as the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns, and the surest bulwarks against anti-republican tendencies:—the preservation of the general government in its whole constitutional vigour, as the sheet anchor of our peace at home, and safety abroad:—a jealous care of the right of election by the people, a mild and safe corrective of abuses, which are lopped by the sword of revolution, where peaceable remedies are unprovided:—absolute acquiescence in the decision of the majority, the vital principle of republics, from which is no appeal but to force, the vital principle and immediate parent of despotism:—a well disciplined militia, our best reliance in peace, and for the first moments of war, till regulars may relieve them:—the supremacy of the civil over the military authority:—economy in the public expence, that labour may be lightly burdened;—the honest payment of our debts, and sacred preservation of the public faith:—encouragement of agriculture, and of commerce as its handmaid:—the diffusion of information, and arraignment of all abuses at the bar of the public reason:—freedom of religion; freedom of the press; and freedom of person, under the protection of the Habeas Corpus:—and trial by juries impartially selected. These principles form the bright constellation, which has gone before us, and guided our steps through an age of revolution and reformation. The wisdom of our sages, and blood of our heroes, have been devoted to their attainment: they should be the creed of our political faith; the text of

civic instruction, the touchstone by which to try the services of those we trust; and should we wander from them in moments of error or of alarm, let us hasten to retrace our steps, and to regain the road which alone leads to peace, liberty and safety.

I repair then, fellow citizens, to the post you have assigned me. With experience enough in subordinate offices to have seen the difficulties of this the greatest of all, I have learnt to expect that it will rarely fall to the lot of imperfect man to retire from this station with the reputation and the favour which bring him into it. Without pretensions to that high confidence you reposed in our first and greatest revolutionary character, whose pre-eminent services had entitled him to the first place in his country's love, and destined for him the fairest page in the volume of faithful history, I ask so much confidence only as may give firmness and effect to the legal administration of your affairs. I shall often go wrong through defect of judgment. When right, I shall often be thought wrong by those whose positions will not command a view of the whole ground. I ask your indulgence for my own errors, which will never be intentional; and your support against the errors of others, who may condemn what they would not if seen in all its parts. The approbation implied by your suffrage is a great consolation to me for the past; and my future solicitude will be, to retain the good opinion of those who have bestowed it in advance, to conciliate that of others by doing them all the good in my power, and to be instrumental to the happiness and freedom of all.

Relying then on the patronage of your good will, I advance with obedience to the work, ready to retire from it whenever you become sensible how much better choices it is in your power to make. And may that infinite Power, which rules the destinies of the universe, lead our councils to what is best, and give them a favorable issue for your peace and prosperity.

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